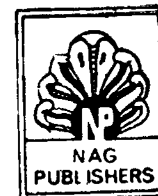
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HINDU INDIA FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

BY

S. K. AIYANGAR

PART I & II



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HINDU INDIA
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PART I

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HINDU INDIA

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CHAPTER I.

—(i)—

Hymn to Indra-Varuṇa.

[The history of India begins with the coming of the Āryans. They were a civilized people formed into tribes, clans and families. These tribes effected settlements in North-Western India, and had to fight in the course of their expansion both with the native communities, usually called by them Dāsas or Dasyus, and other Āryan settlers. These Āryans were a race highly gifted in intellect, and a body of poems composed by their priests has come down to us. This body of poems is called the *Rig-Veda* and forms, as it were, the basis of Vedic literature. These poems are of the character of prayers addressed to various gods either in thanks of praise for benefits already bestowed, or for blessings yet to come. The first extract contains a combination of both. It is addressed to Indra and Varuṇa, the two most prominent of Vedic gods. The greater part of it is thanksgiving for help rendered to Sudās against his enemies. It ends however in praying for protection and prevalence of law and order.]

[*Rig-Veda*. Book VII. Hymn 83.
Trans. Griffith.]

Looking to you and your alliance, O ye Men, armed with broad axes they went forward, fain for spoil.
Ye smote and slew his Dāsa and his Āryan enemies, and helped Sudās with favour, Indra-Varuṇa.

2. Where heroes come together with their banners raised, in the encounter where is naught for us to love,
Where all things that behold the light are terrified, there did ye comfort us, O Indra-Varuna.
3. The boundaries of earth were seen all dark with dust: O Indra-Varuna, the shout went up to heaven.
The enmities of the people compassed me about. Ye heard my calling and ye came to me with help.
4. With your resistless weapons, Indra-Varuna, ye conquered Bheda and ye gave Sudās your aid.
Ye heard the prayers of these amid the cries of war: effectual was the service of the Tritsus' priest.
5. O Indra-Varuna, the wickedness of foes and mine assailants' hatred sorely trouble me.
Ye Twain are Lords of riches both of earth and heaven: so grant to us your aid on the decisive day.
6. The men of both the hosts invoked you in the fight, Indra and Varuna, that they might win the wealth,
What time ye helped Sudās, with all the Tritsus' folk, when the Ten Kings had pressed him down in their attack.
7. Ten Kings who worshipped not, O Indra-Varuna, confederate, in war prevailed not o'er Sudās.
True was the boast of heroes sitting at the feast: so at their invocations Gods were on their side.
8. O Indra-Varuna, ye gave Sudās your aid when the Ten Kings in battle compassed him about,
There where the white-robed Tritsus with their braided hair, skilled in song worshipped you with homage and with hymn.
9. One of you Twain destroys the Vrtras in the fight, the Other evermore maintains his holy Laws.
We call on you, ye Mighty, with our hymns of praise. Vouchsafe us your protection, Indra-Varuna.
10. May Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman vouchsafe us glory and great shelter spreading far.
We think of the beneficent light of Aditi, and Savitar's song of praise, the God who strengthens Law.

— (ii) —

Vi'svāmitra and the Rivers.

[This hymn like the previous one is addressed in prayer requesting a favour. It is Vi'svāmitra, the Rishi, that prays to the goddesses of the Rivers Beas and Satlej in flood to let him and his following have a safe passage across. It was the tribe of Bhāratas in whose favour the prayer was made, and shews that this tribe of the Aryas advanced eastwards across the rivers to settle in the region which became afterwards the most famous centre of Āryan civilization. It is from this tribe of the Aryas that the name for the whole of India became Bhāratavarsha, in use even now in all religious ceremonies.]

[*Rig-Veda*. Book III. Hymn 33.
Trans. Griffith.]

Vi'svāmitra: 1. Forth from the bosom of the mountains, eager as two swift mares with loosened rein contending,
Like two bright mother cows who lick their youngling Vipā's and 'Satadru speed down their waters.
2. Impelled by Indra whom ye pray to urge you, ye move as 'twere on chariots to the ocean.
Flowing together, swelling with your billows, O lucid Streams each of you seeks the other.
3. I have attained the most maternal River, we have approached Vipā's, the broad, the blessed.
Licking as 'twere their calf the pair of mothers flow onward to their common home together.

The Rivers: 4. We two who rise and swell with billowy waters move forward to the home which Gods have made us.
Our flood may not be stayed when urged to motion. What would the singer, calling to the Rivers?

Vi'svāmitra: 5. Linger a little at my friendly bidding; rest, Holy Ones, a moment in your journey.
With hymn sublime soliciting your favour Kus'ika's son hath called unto the River.

The Rivers: 6. Indra who wields the thunder dug our channels: he smote down Vṛtra, him who stayed our currents.
Savitar, God, the lovely-handed, led us, and at his sending forth we flow expanded.

Vi'svāmitra: 7. That hero deed of Indra must be lauded for ever that he rent Ahi in pieces.
He smote away the obstructers with his thunder, and eager for their course forth flowed the waters.

The Rivers: 8. Never forget this word of thine, O singer. which future generations shall re-echo.
In hymns, O bard, show us thy loving-kindness. Humble us not mid men. To thee be honour!

Vi'svāmitra: 9. List quickly, Sisters, to the bard who cometh to you from far away with car and wagon.
Bow lowly down; be easy to be traversed: stay, Rivers, with your floods below our axles.

The Rivers: 10. Yea, we will listen to thy words, O singer. With wain and car from far away thou comest.
Low, like a nursing mother, will I bend me, and yield me as a maiden to her lover.

Vi'svāmitra: 11. Soon as the Bhāratas have fared across thee, the warrior band, urged on and sped by Indra,
Then let your streams flow on in rapid motion. I crave your favour who deserve our worship.

12. The warrior host, the Bhāratas, fared over: the singer won the favour of the Rivers.
Swell with your billows, hasting, pouring riches. Fill full your channels, and roll swiftly onward.

13. So let your wave bear up the pins, and ye, O Waters, spare the thongs;
And never may the pair of Bulls, harmless and sinless, waste away.

— (iii) —

The Rivers.

[This hymn, usually known as the river hymn, is of importance as giving us a number of geographical details. The most important of these latter are the twenty-one rivers known to the Āryans of those days. From these we learn that the Āryans were in occupation of the country between the Afghan mountains and the Indus, and expanded eastwards from thence to the Jumna and the Ganges. Book X of the *Rig-Veda* is believed by scholars to contain the hymns composed the latest in point of time. By this time then the Āryans of India had spread themselves out to occupy the country between the Indus and the Ganges, the Madhya-de'sa, as it is called.]

[*Rig-Veda.* Book X. Hymn 75.
Trans. Griffith.]

1. The singer, O ye Waters, in Vivasvan's place, shall tell your grandeur forth that is beyond compare.
   The Rivers have come forward triply, seven and seven.* Sindhu in might surpasses all the streams that flow.
2. Varuna cut the channels for thy forward course, O Sindhu, when thou rannest on to win the race.
   Thou speedest o'er precipitous ridges of the earth, when thou art Lord and Leader of these moving floods.
3. His roar is lifted up to heaven above the earth: he puts forth endless vigour with a flash of light.
   Like floods of rain that fall in thunder from the cloud, so Sindhu rushes on bellowing like a bull.
4. Like mothers to their calves, like milch-kine with their milk, so, Sindhu unto thee the roaring rivers run.
   Thou leadest as a warrior king thine army's wings what time thou comest in the van of these swift streams.
5. Favour ye this my land, O Gangā, Yamunā, O 'Sutudrī (Satlej), Parushnī (the Ravi), and Sarasvatī.
   With Asikni (Gk. Akesines, the Chenab), Vitastā (the Jhilam), O Marudvridha, O Arjikīyā with Sushomā hear my call.
6. First with Trishtāmā thou art eager to flow forth, with Rasā, and Susartu, and with Svetya (the Swat or Suvāstu perhaps) here,
   With Kubhā (Kabul); and with these, Sindhu! and Mehātnu, thou seekest in thy course Krumu (the Kurm) and Gomatī (the Gomal).
7. Flashing and whitely-gleaming in her mightiness, she moves along her ample volumes through the realms,
   Most active of the active, Sindhu unrestrained, like to a dappled mare, beautiful, fair to see.

* Three sets of seven like the Indus and its confluents.

8. Rich in good steeds is Sindhu, rich in cars and robes, rich in gold, nobly-fashioned, rich in ample wealth.
   Blest Sīlamāvatī and young Ūrnāvatī invest themselves with raiment rich in store of sweets.
9. Sindhu hath yoked her car, light-rolling, drawn by steeds, and with that car shall she win booty in this fight.
   So have I praised its power, mighty and unrestrained, of independent glory, roaring as it runs.

— (iv) —

The God of the Veda.

[These two extracts shew the advance of the Āryan intellect, as the former ones exhibited the extension of the region they occupied. These Āryans addressed their prayers to a large number of deities whom they discovered in all creation around them. These two hymns taken from the latest shews their attempt to look behind the vast number of gods to the God himself. There is a clear indication of the groping to know the Unknown, that which all religions seek to know.]

[*Rig-Veda.* Book X. Hymn 121.
Taken from Oldenburg's *Buddha*: Hoey's translation.]

He who gives breath, He who gives strength;
Whose command all the bright gods revere,
Whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death;
Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
He through whose greatness these snowy mountains are,
And the sea, they say, with the distant river (the Rasā)
He of whom these regions are the two arms;
Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm
He through whom the heaven was 'stablished, nay the highest heaven

He who measured out the space in the sky?
Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
He who by His might looked even over the waters
Which held power and generated the sacrificial fire,
He who alone is God above all gods;
Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

—(v)—

[*Rig-Veda.* Book X. Hymn 129.
Trans. Max Muller.]

Nor Aught or Naught existed, yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad roof outstretched above.
What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
There was not death — yet was there naught immortal,
There was no confine betwixt day and night;
The only One breathed breathless by itself,
Other than It there nothing since has been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound — an ocean without light
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The gods themselves came later into being
Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether His will created or was mute,
The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it — or perchance even He knows not.

CHAPTER II.

—(i)—

Vrātyas or Non-Brahmanical Āryans.

[The extracts in this chapter are made with a view to shew the change of character of the religion of the Āryans. We pass from a religion of simple prayer for benefits and blessings already bestowed or to be bestowed, to one of very elaborate religious ceremonies.

The first extract shews that all Āryans did not adopt the same religious views and practices. As the extracts in the first chapter shewed Āryan tribes hostile to one another in other matters, so in this extract we see there were Āryan tribes who differed in religion and even in civilization.]

[*Tāndya Brāhmana of the Sāma Veda.*
Taken from Weber's History of Indian Literature.]

"They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends, shoes, and sheepskins folded double; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver neck-ornaments; they pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a constant state of confusion; they speak the same language as those who have received Brahmanical consecration, but nevertheless call what is easily spoken hard to pronounce."

—(ii)—

The animals fit for being sacrificed. The offering of the Puroda'sa, forming part of the animal sacrifice.

[Of the religious works enjoined upon an Āryan the most beneficent is the Sacrifice called a *Yāga.* This consists of a complicated series of rites ending in the sacrifice of a victim to be offered into the sacred fire

made for the purpose. The best victim was considered man himself, substituting for self another man. A horse took the place of man, giving place to a bull in course of time. This again gave place to a sheep and that to a goat. It is permissible nowadays to offer in sacrifice only a goat and none else. But even this has undergone a modification. Instead of goat kneaded rice could be substituted, as containing the substance of the earth. This is particularly exhibited in the second of these two extracts. Both the goat and kneaded rice are alone the victims that could now be offered. It is usually more for the benefit of the community than for that of the individual that these sacrifices were offered.

This development of rites is found embodied in a set of explanatory books called the Brāhmaṇas.]

[*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇam.*
Trans. Haug.]

The gods killed a man for their sacrifice. But that part in him which was fit for being made an offering, went out and entered a horse. Thence the horse became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed that man after that part which was only fit for being offered had gone from him, whereupon he became deformed.

The gods killed the horse; but the part fit for being sacrificed (the *medha*) went out of it, and entered an ox; thence the ox became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed (this horse) after the sacrificed part had gone from it, whereupon it turned to a white deer.

The gods killed the ox; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the ox, and entered a sheep; thence the sheep became fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed the ox which turned to a gayal (*bos goaevus*).

The gods killed the sheep; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the sheep, and entered a goat; thence the goat became fit for being sacrificed. The gods dismissed the sheep, which turned to a camel.

The sacrificial part (the *medha*) remained for the longest time (longer than in the other animals) in the goat; thence is the goat among all these animals pre-eminently fit (for being sacrificed).

The gods killed the goat; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of it, and entered the earth. Thence the earth is fit for being offered. The gods then dismissed the goat, which turned to *'Sarabha*.

All those animals from which the sacrificial part had gone, are unfit for being sacrificed, thence one should not eat (their flesh).

After the sacrificial part had entered the earth, the gods surrounded it (so that no escape was possible); it then turned to rice. When they (therefore) divide the Puroḍa'sa into parts, after they have killed the animal, then they do it, wishing "might our animal sacrifice be performed with the sacrificial part (which is contained in the rice of the Puroḍa'sa)! might our sacrificial part be provided with the whole sacrificial essence"! The sacrificed animal of him who has such a knowledge becomes then provided with the sacrificial part, with the whole sacrificial essence.

— (iii) —

The relation of the rice cake offering to that of flesh. The Vapa and Puroḍa'sa offerings.

[*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇam.*
Trans. Haug.]

The Puroḍa'sa (offered at the animal sacrifice) is the animal which is killed. The chaff and straw of the rice of which it consists are the hairs of the animal, its husks the skin, its smallest particles the blood, all the fine particles to which the (cleaned) rice is ground (for making, by kneading it with water, a ball) represent the flesh (of the animal) and whatever other substantial part is in the rice, are the bones (of

the animal). He who offers the Puroda'sa, offers the sacrificial substance of all animals (for the latter is contained in the rice of the Puroda'sa). Thence they say: the performance of the Puroda'sa offering is to be attended to.

Now he recites the Yajya for the Vapa (which is about to be offered): *yuvam etani divi, i.e.* Ye, O Agni and Soma, have placed, by your joint labours, those lights on the sky! ye, Agni and Soma, have liberated the rivers which had been taken (by demons), from imprecation and defilement. (*Rig-Veda* 1, 93, 5.)

The man who is initiated into the sacrificial mystery (the Dīkshita) is seized by all the gods (as their property). Thence they say: he should not eat of a thing dedicated (to the gods). But others say: he should eat when the Vapa is offered; for the Hotar liberates the sacrificer from the gods by (the last words of the mantra just mentioned): "Ye, Agni and Soma, have liberated the (rivers) which had been taken." Consequently he becomes a sacrificer (a yajamāna), and ceases to belong, as a Dīkshita, exclusively to the gods.

Now follows the Yajya verse for the Puroda'sa (mentioned): *anyam divo mātari'sva* (1, 93, 6), *i.e.* Mātari'sva brought from heaven another (Soma) and the eagle struck out another (Agni, fire,) of the rock, etc. (On account of the meaning of the last words "and the eagle," etc., the verse is used as Yajya for the Puroda'sa offering.) For it expresses the idea, that the sacrificial essence had gone out and had been taken away (from man, horse, etc.) as it were, just as (Agni) had come out (of the rock).

With the verse: Taste (O Agni) the offerings, burn them well, etc. (3, 54, 22) the Hotar makes the *Svishtakrit* of the Puroda'sa. By this mantra the Hotar makes the sacrificer enjoy such an offering (to be granted by the gods in return for the gift), and acquires for himself food and milky essences.

He now calls the *Ila* (and eats from the Puroda'sa). For *Ila* means cattle; (by doing so) he therefore calls cattle, and provides the sacrificer with them.

—(iv)—

The Story of S'unah'sēpa.

[This extract containing the story of S'unah'sēpa's sacrifice expounds the principle of substitution in sacrifices. Rohita saves himself by substituting a Brahman youth. From this it is also clear that these sacrifices had assumed the importance that prayers had. Vi'svāmitra figures here as the priest of the Bhāratas as in Ch. I. ii. His loyal children continue the Bhāratas; while the fallen ones become the Andhras, Pundras, 'Sabaras, Pulindas, etc. All these people are found on either side of Vindhyas, on the eastern side of these mountains in later times. This reference may shew that these were non-Brahman Āryans like the Vrātyas, in Extract i, Ch. II.]

[*Aitarēya Brāhamana.*
Trans. Haug.]

(King Harischandra wishes for a son. Stanzas praising the possession of a son.)

Harischandra, the son of Vēdhas, of the Ikshavāku race, was a king who had no son. Though he had a hundred wives, they did not give birth to a son. In his house there lived the Rishis, Parvata and Nārada. Once the king addressed to Nārada (the following stanza):

"Since all beings, those endowed with reason (men) as well as those who are without it (beasts) wish for a son, what is the fruit to be obtained by having a son? This tell me, O Nārada?"

Nārada thus addressed in one stanza, replied in the following ten:

1. The father pays a debt in his son, and gains immortality, when he beholds the face of a son living who was born to him.

2. The pleasure which a father has in his son, exceeds the enjoyment of all other beings, be they on the earth, or in the fire, or in the water.

3. Fathers always overcame great difficulties through a son. (In him) the Self is born out of Self. The son is like a well-provisioned boat, which carries him over.

4. "What is the use of living unwashed, wearing the goat-skin, and beard? What is the use of performing austerities? You should wish for a son, O Brahmans!" Thus people talk of them (who forego the married life on account of religious devotion).

5. Food preserves life, clothes protect from cold, gold (golden ornaments) gives beauty, marriages produce wealth in cattle; the wife is the friend, the daughter object of compassion, but the son shines as his light in the highest heaven.

6. The husband enters the wife (in the shape of seed), and when the seed is changed to an embryo, he makes her mother, from whom after having become regenerated in her, he is born in the tenth month.

7. His wife is only then a real wife (*jaya* from *jan*, to be born) when he is born in her again. The seed which is placed in her she develops to a being and sets it forth.

8. The gods and the Rishis endowed her with great beauty. The gods then told men, this being is destined to produce you again.

9. He who has no child, has no place (no firm footing). This even know the beasts.

10. This is the broad well-trodden path on which those who have sons walk free from sorrows. Beasts and birds know it.

Thus he told.

(A son is born to Harischandra. Varuṇa repeatedly requests the King to sacrifice his son to him; but the sacrifice is under different pretences always put off by the king.)

Nārada then told him, "Go and beg of Varuṇa the King, that he might favour you with the birth of a son (promising him at the same time) to sacrifice to him this son when

born." He went to Varuṇa the King, praying, "Let a son be born to me; I will sacrifice him to thee". Then a son, Rōhita by name, was born to him. Varuṇa said to him, "A son is born to thee, sacrifice him to me." Harischandra said, "An animal is fit for being sacrificed, when it is more than ten days old. Let him reach this age, then I will sacrifice him to thee". After Rōhita had passed the age of ten days, Varuṇa said to him, "He is now past ten days, sacrifice him to me". Harischandra answered, "An animal is fit for being sacrificed when its teeth come. Let his teeth come, then I will sacrifice him to thee". After his teeth had come, Varuṇa said to Harischandra, "His teeth have now come, sacrifice him to me". He answered, "An animal is fit for being sacrificed when its teeth fall out, then I will sacrifice him to thee." His teeth fell out. He then said, "His teeth are falling out, sacrifice him to me". He said, "An animal is fit for being sacrificed when its teeth have come again. Let his teeth come again, then I will sacrifice him to thee". His teeth came again. Varuṇa said, "His teeth have now come again, sacrifice him to me". He answered, "A man of the warrior caste is fit for being sacrificed only after having received his full armour. Let him receive his full armour, then I will sacrifice him to thee". He then was invested with the armour. Varuṇa then said, "He must have now received the armour, sacrifice him to me". After having thus spoken, he called his son, and told him, "Well, my dear, to him who gave thee unto me, I will sacrifice thee now". But the son said, "No, no," took his bow and absconded to the wilderness, where he was roaming about for a year.

(Continuation of this story. Rōhita, Harischandra's son, purchases after six years of fruitless wanderings in the forest, a Brahman boy, S'unah'sepa by name, from his parents, to be sacrificed in his stead by Harischandra to Varuṇa.)

Varuṇa now seized Harischandra, and his belly swelled (*i e.*, he was attacked by dropsy). When Rōhita heard of it,

he left the forest, and went to a village where Indra in human disguise met him, and said to him, "There is no happiness for him who does not travel, Rōhita! thus we have heard. Living in the society of men, the best man (often) becomes a sinner (by seduction, which is best avoided by wandering in places void of human dwellings); for Indra surely is the friend of the traveller. Therefore, wander!"

Rōhita thinking, a Brahman told me to wander, wandered for a second year in the forest. When he was entering a village after having left the forest, Indra met him in human disguise, and said to him, "The feet of the wanderer are like the flower, his soul is growing and reaping the fruit; and all his sins are destroyed by his fatigues in wandering. Therefore, wander!"

Rōhita thinking, a Brahman told me to wander, wandered then a third year in the forest. When he was entering a village after having left the forest, Indra met him in human disguise and said to him, "The fortune of him who is sitting, sits; it rises when he rises; it sleeps when he sleeps: it moves when he moves. Therefore, wander!"

Rōhita thinking, a Brahman told me to wander, wandered then a fourth year in the forest. When he was entering a village after having left the forest, Indra said to him, "The Kali is lying on the ground, the Dvapara is hovering there; the Treta is getting up, but the Krita happens to walk (hither and thither). Therefore, wander!"

Rōhita thinking, a Brahman told me to wander, wandered for a fifth year in the forest. When he was entering a village after having left the forest, Indra said to him, "The wanderer finds honey and the sweet Udumbara fruit; behold the beauty of the sun, who is not wearied by his wanderings. Therefore, wander, wander!"

Rōhita then wandered for a sixth year in the forest. He met (this time) the Rishi Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa

who was starving in the forest. He has three sons, S'unaḥpucchha, S'unaḥ'sēpa, and S'unōlāngula. He told him, "Rishi! I give thee a hundred cows; for I will ransom myself (from being sacrificed) with one of these (thy sons)". Ajigarta then excepted the oldest, saying, "Do not take him", and the mother excepted the youngest, saying, "Do not take him." Thus they agreed upon the middle one, S'unaḥ'sēpa. He then gave him a hundred cows, left the forest, entered the village, and brought him before his father, saying, "O my dear (father!) by this boy I will ransom myself (from being sacrificed)." He then approached Varuṇa the king (and said), "I will sacrifice him to thee!" He said, "Well, let it be done; for a Brahman is worth more than a Kshattriya!" Varuṇa then explained to the king the rites of Rajasūya sacrifice, at which on the day appointed for the inauguration (*abhishēchanīya*) he replaced the sacrificial animal by a man.

(The sacrifice with the intended human victim comes off. Four great Rishis were officiating as priests. S'unaḥ'sēpa prays to the gods to be released from the fearful death. The Rik verses which he used are mentioned and the different deities to whom he applied.)

At this sacrifice *Vi'svāmitra* was his Hotar, *Jamadagni* his Adhvaryu, Vasishṭa his Brahma, and Ayasya his Udgātar. After the preliminary ceremonies had been performed, they could not find a person willing to bind him to the sacrificial post. Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa, then said, "Give me another hundred cows, and I will bind him." They gave him another hundred, whereupon he bound him. After he had been bound, the Apri verses recited, and the fire carried round him, they could not find a slaughterer. Ajigarta then said, "Give me another hundred and I will kill him." They gave him another hundred. He then whetted his knife and

went to kill his son. S'unah'sēpa then got aware that they were going to butcher him just as if he were no man (but a beast). "Well," said he, "I will seek shelter with the gods." He applied to Prajāpati, who is the first of the gods, with the verse, *kasya nūnam katamasya* (1, 24, 1). Prajāpati answered him, "Agni is the nearest of the gods, go to him." He then applied to Agni, with the verse *agnēr vayam prathamasya amritānam* (1, 24, 2). Agni answered him, "Savitar rules over the creatures, go to him." He then applied to Savitar with the three verses (1, 24, 3-5) beginning with *abhi tvā dēva* Savitar. *Savitar* answered him, "Thou art bound for Varuna the king, go to him." He applied to Varuna with the following thirty-one verses (124, 6-25, 21). Varuna then answered him, "Agni is the mouth of the gods, and the most compassionate of them. Praise him now! then we shall release you." He then praised Agni with twenty-two verses (1, 26, 1-27, 12). Agni then answered, "Praise the Vi'svē Dēvas, then we shall release you." He then praised the Vi'svē Dēvas with the verse (1, 27, 13) *namō mahadbhyō namō arbhakēbhyō*. The Vi'svē Dēvas answered, "Indra is the strongest, the most powerful, the most enduring, the most true of gods, who knows best how to bring to an end anything. Praise him, then we shall release you." He then praised Indra with the hymn (1, 29) *yach chid satya sōmapā*, and with fifteen verses of the following one (1, 30, 1-15). Indra, who had become pleased with his praise, presented him with a golden carriage. This present he accepted with the verse, *'sa'svad indra* (1, 30, 16). Indra then told him, "Praise the A'svins, then we shall release you." He then praised the A'svins with the three verses which follow the above mentioned (1, 30, 17-19). The A'svins then answered, "Praise Ushas (Dawn), then we shall release you." He then praised Ushas with the three verses which follow the A'svin verses (1, 30, 20-22). As he repeated one verse after the other, the fetters (of Varuna) were falling off, and the belly of Harischandra became smaller. And after he had done repeating the last verse, (all) the fetters were taken off, and Harischandra restored to health again.

(S'unah'sēpa is released. He invents the anjah sava preparation of the Soma. Vi'svāmitra adopts him as his son. Stanzas.)

The priests now said to S'unah'sēpa, "Thou art now only ours (thou art now a priest like us); take part in the performance of the particular ceremonies of this day (the *abishēchanīya*)." He then saw (invented) the method of direct preparation of the Sōma juice (*anjah sava*, without intermediate fermentation) after it is squeezed, and carried it out under the recital of the four verses, *yach chid dhi tvāt grihē grihē* (1, 28, 5-8). Then by the verse *uchchhishtam chamvōr* (1, 28, 9) he brought it into the Drōnakalasa. Then after having been touched by Harischandra, he sacrificed the Sōma under the recital of the four first verses (of the hymn, *yatra grava prithubudhna*, 1, 28, 1-4), which were accompanied by the formula *Svāhā*. Then he brought the implements required for making the concluding ceremonies (*avabhritha*) of this sacrifice to the spot and performed them under the recital of the two verses, *tvam nō agnē Varunasya* (4, 1, 4-5). Then, after this ceremony was over, S'unah'sēpa summoned Harischandra to the Āhavanīya fire, and recited the verse *S'unah chichchhēpam niditam* (5, 2, 7).

S'unah'sēpa then approached the side of Vi'svāmitra (and sat by him). Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa, then said, "O Rishi! return me my son." He answered, "No, for the gods have presented (*dēva arasata*) him to me." Since that time he was *Dēvarata*, Vi'svāmitra's son. From him came the *Kapilēyas* and *Babhravas*. Ajigarta further said, "Come, then, we (thy mother and I myself) will call thee," and added, "Thou art known as the seer from Ajigarta's family, as a

descendant of the Angirasaḥ. Therefore O Rishi, do not leave your ancestral home; return to me." S'unaḥ'sēpa answered, "What is not found even in the hands of a S'ūdra, one has seen in thy hand, the knife (to kill thy son); three hundred cows thou hast preferred to me, O Angiras!". Ajigarta then answered, "O my dear son! I repent of the bad deed I have committed; I blot out this stain! one hundred of the cows shall be thine!"

S'unaḥ'sēpa answered, "Who once might commit such a sin, may commit the same another time; thou art still not free from the brutality of a S'ūdra, for thou hast committed a crime for which no reconciliation exists." "Yes, irreconcilable (is this act)," interrupted Vi'svāmitra.

Vi'svāmitra then said, "Fearful was Suyavasa's son (to look at) when he was standing ready to murder, holding the knife in his hand; do not become his son again; but enter my family as my son." S'unaḥ'sēpa then said, "O prince, let us know, tell (us) how I, as an Angirasaḥ, can enter thy family as thy (adopted) son?" Vi'svāmitra answered, "Thou shalt be the first-born of my sons, and thy children the best. Thou shalt now enter on the possession of my divine heritage. I solemnly instal thee to it." S'unaḥ'sēpa then said, "When thy sons should agree to thy wish that I should enter thy family, O thou best of the Bharatas! then tell them for the sake of my own happiness to receive me friendly." Vi'svāmitra then addressed his sons as follows: "Hear ye now, *Madhuchhandah*, *Rishabha*, *Renu*, *Ashtaka*, and all ye brothers, do not think yourselves (entitled) to the right of primogeniture, which is his (S'unaḥ'sēpa's)."

(On Vi'svāmitra's descendants. How the reciters of the S'unaḥ'sēpa story are to be rewarded by the King. Stanzas. On the pratigaru for the riches and stanzas at this occasion.)

This Rishi Vi'svāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of them were older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty were younger than

he. The older ones were not pleased with (the installation of S'unaḥ'sēpa to the primogeniture). Vi'svāmitra then pronounced against them the curse, "You shall have the lowest castes for your descendants." Therefore are many of the most degraded classes of men, the rabble for the most part, such as the *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *S'abaras*, *Pūlindas*, and *Mutibas*, descendants of Vi'svāmitra. But Madhuchhandas with the fifty younger ones, said, "What our father approves of, by that we abide; we all accord to thee (S'unaḥ'sēpa) the first rank, and we will come after thee!" Vi'svāmitra, delighted (at this answer) then praised these sons with the following verses:

"Ye my sons will have abundance of cattle and children, for you have made me rich in children by consenting to my wish."

"Ye sons of Gāthi, blessed with children, you all will be successful when headed by Dēvarata; he will (always) lead you on the path of truth."

"This Dēvarata, is your master (man); follow him, ye Ku'sikas! He will exercise the paternal rights over you as his heritage from me, and take possession of the sacred knowledge that we have."

"All the true sons of Vi'svāmitra, the grandsons of Gāthi, who forthwith stood with Dēvarata, were blessed with wealth for their own welfare and renown."

"Dēvarata is called the Rishi who entered on two heritages, the royal dignity of Jahnu's house, and the divine knowledge of Gāthi's stem."

This is the story of S'unaḥ'sēpa contained in the stanzas which are beyond the number of the hundred Rik verses (recited along with them). The Hōtar when sitting on a gold embroidered carpet, recites them to the king, after he has been sprinkled with the sacred water. The Adhvaryu who repeats the responses sits likewise on a gold embroidered

carpet. For gold is glory. This procures glory for the king (for whom these Gāthas are repeated). *Om* is the Adhvaryu's response to a Rik (repeated by the Hōtar), and *evam tathā* (thus in this way it is) that to a Gātha (recited by the Hōtar). For *om* is divine (therefore applied to *riks*, which are a divine revelation) and *tathā* human. By means of the divine (*om*) and human (*tathā*) responses, the Adhvaryu makes the king free from sin and fault. Therefore any king who might be a conqueror (and consequently by shedding blood a sinner) although he might not bring a sacrifice, should have told the story of S′unah′sepa. (If he do so) then not the slightest trace of sin (and its consequences) will remain in him. He must give a thousand cows to the teller of this story, and a hundred to him (who makes the responses required); and to each of them the (gold embroidered) carpet on which he was sitting; to the Hōtar, besides, a silver decked carriage drawn by mules. Those who wish for children, should also have told this story; then they certainly will be blessed with children.

—(v)—

The Problem of Death: Knowledge its Solution.

[We said in the introduction to Extracts IV and V of Ch. I. that some of the choice spirits among the Āryans had already begun to look behind the numerous gods of the hymns to the Unity that is God. Kindred spirits there were among Brāhmanas who began to ask for the meaning and purpose of the series of rites described in the Brāhmanas. This enquiry would gradually lead on to the nature of Death and Immortality. Such enquiries into the nature of God, Life, Death and Life after Death are described and preserved to us in the forest-books (Āranyakas of the Vedas) and the Upanishads. The answer to these questions is the Vēdānta (the end of the Veda.)

This extract is from one of the Upanishads called Kathōpanishad and is an exposition of the phenomenon of Death. It leads ultimately to knowledge of the nature of Death, leading to the solution of the problem what life is or God.]

[*Kāthaka Upanishad.*
Taken from Oldenburg's *Buddha*:
Hoey's Translation, pp. 55–58.]

"Uçant, son of Vajaçravas," the Upanishad begins, "gave away all that he had. He had one son, named Nāciketas. In this youth faith was awakened, when the offerings were being carried away. He then reflected:

"Water-drinking, grass-eating, milked-out (creatures) whose strength is exhausted
Cheerless are the worlds called, to which he tends, who offers such gifts.

He said to his father: "Father, to whom wilt thou give me?" And a second and a third time (he asked this). Then his father said: "I give thee to Death."

THE SON.

"Many come after me: many have before me trodden the path of death.
The Prince of Death, the god Yama, what need can he have of me?"

THE FATHER.

"Look forward, look backward; a like fatality rules here and yonder.
The destiny of man resembles the grain, which ripens, falls, and again returns."

The poem passes over what now happens: Nāciketas descends to the kingdom of Death. Yama, the God of Death, does not see him: so he remains three days unhonoured in the realms of the departed.

The Servants of the God of Death.

A flaming fire is the Brāhman who approaches the house as a guest. Yama presents water to the guest, thus the heat of the fire is allayed.

" Hope and wish, friendship and every joy,
The fruit of his actions, children and fruitfulness of the flock,
These the Brāhman takes away from the foolish man
In whose house he tarries unfed."

Yama (the God of Death).

" Unfed within my house three nights,
Brāhamana, a worthy guest, hast thou tarried.
Honour to thee, let prosperity attend me;
Three wishes shall be granted thee; choose!"

Nāciketas chooses as the first wish, that his father may receive him without ill-will on his return from the realms of the dead; as the second, that the God of Death may teach him the hidden knowledge of the sacrificial fire, by the help of which man wins the heavenly world. Death imparts to him the mystic knowledge of this fire and guarantees that it shall be called among men after his name the Nāciketas-fire. Nāciketas has now to express his third wish.

Nāciketas.

" Inquiry is made regarding the fate of the dead:
'They are', says one; 'they are not', says another.
This I wish to know, resolve this (doubt) for me.
This is the third wish, which I choose."

The God of Death.

" The gods themselves sought after this long since;
Hard to fathom, dark is this secret.
Choose some other boon, Nāciketas,
On this insist not, release me from my promise."

Nāciketas.

" From the gods themselves is this hidden, thou sayest;
Hard to fathom hast thou, O Death, declared it.
There is no other who can reveal this to me as thou canst,
There is no other wish which I can choose instead of this."

The God of Death.

Fulness of years, and children's children,
Choose gold, herds, elephants, horses,
Choose widely-extended rule upon the earth,
Have thy life long as thou desirest.
If this appear to thee acceptable instead of that other wish,
Then choose wealth, choose long life,
Rule broad realms, Nāciketas;
I give thee the fulness of all pleasures.
What mortal men obtain but with difficulty,
Choose every pleasure on which thy heart is set.
Maidens here, with harps, with carriages,
Fairer than men hope to gain,
These give I thee, that they may do thee service;
Ask not of death, Nāciketas."

Nāciketas.

" The lapse of days causes, O Lord of Death,
The power of the organs of life to fail in the children of men;
The whole life swiftly passes away;
Song and dance, chariot and horse, thine are they.
Riches cannot give contentment to man;
What is wealth to us when we have beheld thee?
We shall live as long as thou biddest us;
Still this wish alone is that which I choose.
Tell us of the far-reaching future of the world to come,
Whereon, O Death, man meditates in doubt.
The wish, which penetrates into hidden depths,
That alone it is which Nāciketas chooses."

The reluctance of the God of Death is overcome, and he grants to the importunate inquirer his request. The two paths of knowledge and ignorance diverge widely from each other. Naciketas has chosen knowledge; the fulness of pleasures has not led him astray. They who walk in the path of ignorance, endlessly wander about through the world beyond, like the blind led by the blind. The wise man who knows the One, the Everlasting, the ancient God, who dwells in the depths, has no part in joy and sorrow, becomes free from right and wrong, free from the present, and free from hereafter. That is Yama's answer to Naciketas's enquiry.

CHAPTER III.

—(i)—

Cessation of Desire, the Solution.

[This extract taken from the Mahābhārata takes up the question of Death dealt with in the extract immediately preceding this. It carries the investigation further by trying to find the cause and provide a remedy. Desire is the cause of existence. Existence carries along with it death and sorrow. The cure for all this is cessation of desire. This can be brought about by true knowledge. This is the answer to the problem of Birth and Death according to one view of Brahmanism. There are various other solutions some of which we shall meet as we proceed.]

[*Mahābhārata* XII. Ch. 173 :—(Kumbakonam Edition)
Taken from L. D. Barnett's *The Heart of India.*]

When a man has lost his substance, or his wife, son, or father has died, he may feel the sadness of it and yet by meditation be able to cast off his sorrow. And as to this they tell this ancient tale, how a friendly Brāhman came to Sēnajit and talked with him. Seeing this king overcome by sorrow for his son, distraught with grief and downcast in spirit, the Brāhman spoke these words:

"Why art thou so utterly discomfited, why lamentest thou, when thou thyself art worthy of lament, inasmuch as men will lament for thee likewise and then must themselves go lamented down the same path? Thou thyself, O king, and I and all who do homage to thee, shall all go thither whence we have come."

Sēnajit said: "What vision, what mortification, O Brāhman, what meditation, O thou who art rich in penance, what knowledge and what scripture-lore hast thou gained that thou art not discomfited?"

The Brahman said: "Look how creatures of the highest, midway, and lowest degrees are everywhere here enmeshed in grief because of their works. Even this my soul here is not mine; or rather, the whole earth is mine, and as it is mine, so it belongs to others likewise; thus I think, and abide undisturbed. Having gained this vision, I rejoice not and grieve not. As in the great ocean one piece of wood meets another, and after meeting they again part from one another, such is the meeting of creatures. Thus it is with children and children's children, with friends and kinsmen; it is not well to have love for them, for parting from them is inevitable. Come hither from the dark and again gone back into the dark, another knows not thee, and thou knowest not him; who then art thou, and what is anything, that thou lamentest for it? From the stress of desire arises grief, from the stress of grief arises pleasure, and from pleasure again arises grief, and again grief. The immediate issue of pleasure is grief, the immediate issue of grief is pleasure; pleasure and grief among men roll round like a wheel. When thou hast passed from pleasure into grief, thou wilt then pass once more into pleasure; men cannot for ever have grief, nor for ever have pleasure. The body is the seat alike of grief and of pleasure. Life also arises together with this body; both wax together, and both together decay. Men are held by the manifold snares of the desires in the world of sense, and they fall away without winning to their end, like dykes of sand in water. Like sesame-grains for their oil, all things are ground out in the mill-wheel of creation by the oil-grinders, to wit, the taints arising from ignorance, which fasten upon them. The husband gathers to himself evil works on account of his wife; but he alone is therefore afflicted with taints, which cling to man alike in the world beyond and in this. All men are attached to children, wives and kin; they sink down in the slimy sea of sorrows, like age-worn forest-elephants. On the loss

of children, on the loss of substance or of friends or kinsmen, men suffer exceeding anguish, like the fire of a burning forest, my lord. This whole world depends upon Fate in pleasure and pain, in birth and unborn being. Whether a man have friends or not, whether he have foes or allies, whether he be wise or void of wisdom, he gets his happiness through Fate. Friends suffice not to make one happy, nor foes to make one unhappy; wisdom suffices not to make one wealthy, wealth suffices not to make happy. Prudence is not enough to attain wealth, foolishness hinders not success; the wise man, not the fool, understands this course of the world's way. Fortune follows whomsoever she meets, the understanding and bold, the silly and cowardly, the dull and the wise, the weakly and the strong. The cow belongs to the calf, to herdsman, to the master, and to the thief; to him who drinks her milk the cow verily belongs. The most foolish in the world and the most prudent easily win success; but he who stands midway between them is afflicted."......

"Pleasure, when it is of the spirit of sloth, ends in grief; grief, when it is of the spirit of energy, leads to pleasure; prosperity and happiness dwell with the man of energy, not with the slothful. But whether it be pleasure or pain, sweet or bitter, a man should bear with what befalls, as it befalls, unconquered of spirit. A thousand motives of sorrow and a hundred motives of fear fall daily upon the erring, but not upon the wise. Grief touches not him who is understanding, who has won illumination, seeks for knowledge of scripture, and is free from envy, self-controlled, and master of his senses. The wise man should hold fast to this illumination and keep watch over his thoughts; then he knows how the world arises and dissolves, and no grief can touch him. Whatsoever be the cause whence may arise a grief or an affliction or a sorrow or a labour of spirit, a man should put away that from which these may spring, even though it were a limb of his own

body. Whenever any work is done from a spirit of selfishness, in the issue it becomes a source of grief. Whatever desires are cast out, their place is filled up by happiness; but the man who runs after desires falls into destruction after his desires. All happiness that may come from fulfilment of wishes in the world, and all the exceeding bliss that there may be in heaven, do not together weigh the sixteenth part of the happiness that consists in the destruction of desire. On the head of each man, be he wise or foolish or valiant, comes every good and evil work that has been done by him in former incarnation, according to the manner of its doing. Thus truly all these sweets and bitternesses, sorrows and joys in souls roll round and round. Holding fast to this illumination, the good man sits in peace. He should guard himself from all desires; he should cast desires behind him. Wrath is the name of him who stirs in the heart, who when strengthened is as death dwelling in the spirit; abiding in the bodies of embodied beings, thus is he named by the wise. When a man has drawn inwards the desires from all sides, as the tortoise gathers in its limbs, he shall behold the light of the Self as his Self in himself. When one fears none and none fear him, when he desires no longer and hates no longer, he passes into Brahma. When he surrenders alike the true and the untrue, sorrow and joy, fear and courage, when he leaves behind him the sweet and the bitter, he will live in peace of soul. When he in wisdom does no kind of hurt to any creatures, either in work or thought or in words, he passes into Brahma. Desire is a sickness that is hard for the foolish to abandon, which ages not with man's ageing, which only ends with life itself; blessed is he who frees himself from it!"

— (ii) —

[The following is another extract from the Mahābhārata. This attacks the problem of death from a somewhat different point of view from the preceding extract. It leads the protest against the orderly ritualism of the orthodox Brahman and holds even the knowledge of the Upanishads in comparatively lower esteem to conduct and self-control. While keeping to the orthodox Brahman teaching, there is in this a shifting of emphasis, more importance being attached to conduct and discipline, than to the formal performance of works. The bearing of this will become clearer when we come to learn about Jainism and Buddhism.]

[*Mahābhārata*, XII. Ch. 174.
Taken from Barnett's *The Heart of India.*]

A certain Brāhman who delighted in reading the Veda had a wise son, by name Mēdhāvi. Now this son, who had skill for salvation, religion, and worldly affairs, spoke thus to his father, the lover of Veda-lore: "Father, what should a wise and understanding man do? For the life of mankind soon fades away. Tell me, father, how it is in the issue, in due order, that I may fulfil my duty."

The father said: "My son, after a man has studied the Vedas as a disciple under the vows, he should seek to beget sons to pay the debt to his fathers; and then, after he has kindled the fire and fulfilled the rites of sacrifice according to rule, he should go into the forest and strive to become a saint."

The son said: "Seeing that the world is so afflicted and held in bar around, and the Unfailing ones are fleeing by, why speakest thou as though thou wert wise?"

The father said: "How should the world be afflicted, and by what is it held in bar around, and who are the Unfailing ones here that are fleeing by? Of what wouldst thou make me afraid?"

The son said: "By death the world is afflicted, by age it is held in bar, and the nights are the Unfailing ones that are ever coming and going. When I know that death cannot halt, what can I expect from walking in a cover of lore? If

life grows ever shorter as night after night passes by, then the man of understanding may likewise find his days barren. Who could feel joy where he is like a fish in shallow water? Before he sees his desires fulfilled, death falls upon man. Death will seize upon him, while he is gathering flowers and his thought is turned elsewhere, even as a she-wolf seizes upon a lamb, and hasten away with her prey. This very day do what is to thy best profit; let not this hour pass over thy head; for death carries away a man ere yet his tasks are fulfilled. Rather should one do to-day the work of the morrow, rather in the forenoon the work of the afternoon; for death waits not, whether one has brought to an end his labour or not. Yea, who knows whose hour of death will be to-day. Let even the youth accustom himself to do his duty, for life is frail. Fulfilled duty brings honour on earth and bliss in the world beyond. Possessed by delusion, a man toils for wife and child; but whether he has fulfilled his purpose or not, he must surrender the enjoyment thereof. When one is blessed with children and flocks, and his heart is clinging unto them, death carries him away, as a tiger a sleeping deer. While he is still gathering, and while his desires are still unfulfilled, death carries him away, as a tiger an ox. While one is busied in strivings and gratifications, thinking 'this is done, this must be done, and this other matter is half done', death overcomes him.

...... Be he weak or strong, a valiant man or a coward, foolish or prudent, death carries him away ere he has reached the goal of all his wishes. As death and age, sickness and sorrow, arising from many causes, attach to the body, how canst thou remain composed? Death and age pursue all that are born for their destruction; to these two all creatures, unmoving and moving alike, are subject. The town-dweller's love of wife is a door of death, but the forest is a meeting-place of the gods, says holy writ. The town-dweller's love of wife is a fettering snare; the good break it and escape, the bad break it not. He who does no hurt to creatures either in thought or in word or by his body, gets likewise no hurt from the living things which take away life and possessions.

Without the Truth no man can ever defeat the assailing host of Death; untruth must be renounced, for in truth is the seat of immortality. Therefore he who walks under the vows of truth, and devotes himself to union with truth, and has a true scripture and is constantly self-controlled, overcomes death by the truth. Alike the need to die no more and the need to die have their foundation in bodily life. The need to die arises from delusion; from truth arises the need to die no more. I, who do hurt to none, who long for truth, who have cast away desire and wrath, and am indifferent and content in pleasure and pain, shall become free from death, like one of the immortals. Rejoicing in peace as my sacrifice, self-controlled, abiding in the worship of Brahma, a saint offering the sacrifice of word, thought, and deed, I shall pass away by the sun's northern road. How should one such as I bring a bloody sacrifice of beasts? the wise man brings living offerings bearing temporal fruit, like a devil? He who has utterly suppressed words and thoughts for ever, who practises mortification, self-denial, and truth, verily wins the universe. No eye is peer to knowledge, no mortification to truth; no sorrow is equal to passion, no happiness to self-denial. Born in my Self by my self, established in my self, albeit without offspring, I shall live in my Self alone; offspring cannot save me. No wealth is so precious for a Brâhman as concord, indifference, truthfulness, goodness, firmness, harmlessness, uprightness, and gradual withdrawing from works in their order. What should avail thee wealth, or kindred, or wives, O Brahman, since thou must die? Seek thou the Self, which is lodged in its covert. Whither have thy forefathers and thy father gone?

CHAPTER IV.

— (i) —

Mahāvīra Vardhamāna.

[Following further the line of thought indicated in the last extract, various teachers appeared each with his own solution of the problem of death. Among these two stand out prominently, namely Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism (from Jina, conqueror, the conqueror of death), and Gautama, the Buddha or Enlightened. The above is an abridgment of Mahāvīra's life as contained in the Kalpa Sūtra, a work of the fifth century A. D. The special feature of the teaching of Jina being Ahimsa (forbearance from inflicting pain) and the rejection of the orthodox ritualism of the Brāhmanas.]

[Abridged from the Rev. J. Stevenson's Version of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (1848).]

The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, in the age and time of which we speak, met with five propitious conjunctions under the constellation (Kathuttarāi) Uttaraphalguni, which were as follows; he descended from above in Uttaraphalguni, and entered on the embryonic state; in Uttaraphalguni he was removed from one womb to another; he was born also; he was shaved likewise, and from being a householder became a houseless wanderer, and, lastly, in Uttaraphalguni, he obtained that real and supreme wisdom and perception, which is infinite in its subjects, incomparable in its kind, imperturbable, free from all obscurity, a touchstone for all other things, and perfect in all its parts. It was under Svāti, however, that the lord obtained Nirvāna (cessation from action, and freedom from desire).

In this age, and at that time, the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra, in the summer season, in the fourth month, in the right demi-lunation, during the increasing moon of Ashādha, and on its sixth day, descended from the all-joyous super-celestial abode called Pushpōttara, which, like the lotus among flowers, is the chief of all the super-celestial abodes. During the currency of this Avasarpini (age), after the Happy age (consisting of four hundred billions of *oceans of** years) had passed, and the Happy age also (of three hundred billions), and the Happy mixed with Misery likewise (of two hundred billions), and the Miserable tinged with Happiness (of one hundred billions of oceans of years) was also spent, except forty-two thousand and seventy-four years, and eight months and a half; after twenty one Tīrthankars had been born, of the tribe of Ikshvāku, and family of Kas'yapa, and two in the Harivams'a tribe, and family of Gautama; twenty-three Tīrthankars had then passed away, when the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthankars, and pointed out as about to obtain this dignity by those who preceded him, took up his abode as a fœtus in the womb of Brahmani Dēvanandā, of the family of Jalandhara, wife of Rishabha Datta Brahman, of the family of Kodala, of the city of Kundagama, at the middle of the night, at a fortunate conjunction of the moon and planets, having left his heavenly banquet, quitted his celestial abode, and laid aside his former body. In reference to this transaction there are three kinds of knowledge the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra may be supposed to have had; that he was to descend, that he had to; that he was descending, that he had not; and that he had descended, that he had.

On that very night on which the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra took the form of an embryo in the womb of Dēvanandā, of the family of Jalandhara, the same Dēvanandā was lying on her couch, and after sleeping a short time wakened up after

*Sagaropama, a very large number.

seeing the following most excellent, prosperity-foreboding, evil-destroying, wealth-conferring, fortunate, delightsome objects in a dream. The objects were as follows: an elephant, a bull, a lion, the goddess Lakshmi, a garland of flowers, the moon, the sun, a military ensign, a large jar, the lotus lake, the sea (of milk), the celestial residence of the sages, a collection of pearls, a smokeless flame of fire.

Thereon Rishabha Datta Brahman, having carefully apprehended the matter she had laid before him, glad and delighted thus addressed Dēvanandā: "O beloved of the gods, you have seen a dream foreboding prosperity; beloved of the gods, a most fortunate dream; beloved of the gods, a pleasure-giving dream; a dream, the source of felicity. This much is most certain, yes at the end of nine full months and seven and a-half nights, a child shall be born with well-shaped hands and feet, perfect in every member of his body, with every lucky mark, mole, and characteristic, proportioned in height, weight, and thickness, with every limb fully developed, and perfect in beauty, with a form resembling the moon, graceful and pleasing to the eye; to such an entirely lovely child will you give birth. On leaving the state of childhood, he will be perfect in all the inferior branches of knowledge, and after entering on the state of youth, he will soon become able to repeat, defend, and uphold the four Vedas, the Rig Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, and the Atharvaṇa Veda, and the Itihāsa (History), which is considered a fifth Veda, and the Nighaṇṭu (Lexicon), which may be termed a sixth; the body of divinity with all its members, and know also their hidden meaning. He will be acquainted with the six subsidiary members of the Veda, and the sixth philosophical system (the Sānkhya), with Mathematics, the Institute which directs the rites and ceremonies, Grammar, Prosody, Analysis of words, Astronomy, and other Brahmanical Scriptures, especially

that relating to the state of an ascetic; in all of these he will become a proficient. Thou, O beloved of the gods, hast indeed seen a dream that forebodes prosperity."

After a little while, reflecting within himself on the subject before him, the following thoughts occurred to the mind of S'akra*, prince and king of the gods; surely such a thing as this has never happened in past, happens not in present, nor will happen in future time, that an Arhat, a Chakravarti, a Baladēva, or a Vāsudēva should be born in a low caste family, a servile family, a degraded family, a poor family, a mean family, a beggar's family or a Brahman's family; but, on the contrary, in all time past, present, and to come, an Arhat, a Chakravarti, a Vāsudēva, receives birth in a noble family, an honourable family, a royal family, a Kshatriya family, as in the family of Ikshvāku, or the Harivams'a family, or some such of pure descent.

The best thing then that can be done is to withdraw the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, last of the Tīrthankaras, as pointed out by his predecessors, from the womb of Dēvanandā, and place him in that of Tris'alā, the Kshatrayāṇi, of the family of Vasiṣṭha, wife of Siddhārtha, the Kshatriya, of the family of Kas'yapa, both of pure Kshatriya descent.

Harinegamesi, chief of the heavenly messengers, having received the commands of S'akra, king and chief of the gods, arrived at Jambudvīpa, at the house of Rishbha Datta. On entering, he at once saw the worshipful ascetic Mahāvīra, and prostrated himself before him. Then having cast Dēvanandā, with all her attendants and family, into a deep sleep, having removed all impure water, he took out what was pure, and without injuring or paining the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra, he placed him surrounded with a divine lustre, in the palm of one hand, and covering him with the other, carried him off to the Kshatriya division of Kunda-grama, to the house of the Kshatriya Siddhārtha, where was

* Indra.

his wife Tris'ala; having then cast her and her attendants into a deep sleep, without injury or pain, he introduced the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra in the womb of Kshatrayāṇi. When he had performed this service, he returned and reported to his lord that he had performed what he was commanded to do.

In the same night that the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra was removed to the womb of Tris'ala, she was lying in her splendid mansion, she saw the same fourteen propitious dreams that the Brahmaṇi Devanandā saw, after which she wakened up, and fixing the dreams firmly in her memory, and descending from her couch by means of a footstool, went to the place where the Kshatriya Siddhārtha was lying in his bed asleep; after being seated, thus in sweet accents addressed him:—"O my lord, while I was this evening sleeping in my splendidly furnished apartments, I saw the following objects in a dream. *viz.*, an elephant, a bull, etc. Tell me then, my lord, what good fortune, happiness, these fourteen dreams forebode." King Siddhārtha, glad and delighted, after fully grasping with his mind, and reflecting again and again on the dreams, while he summoned up all his powers of intellect and reason, having comprehended their meaning, thus explained it to Tris'ala. Such shall be thy son; and when he passes from the state of childhood to that of youth, he will be perfect in all the common branches of knowledge, and as a youth will be brave, heroic, powerful, well built, capable of leading armies; in a word, a king of kings. Thou hast seen, therefore, a most propitious dream;"—and this he repeated two or three times.

In the morning, at the first dawning of the day, Siddhārtha attended by the commanders of the troops, and heads of departments, the vice-regent, the heads of the police, chief of the royal messengers, counsellors, inferior and superior, astrologers, warders, cabinet ministers, slaves, and personal attendants, citizens, with the lawyers and bankers, commanders of the forces, commanders of the chariots, couriers, and

sealers, issued forth the king and lord of men, the bull and lion among men, lovely to behold as the moon after emerging from a large white cloud, shining among the surrounding stars and planets, and came outside to the place where the hall of audience was, and sat down upon his throne, which was placed so as to face the east. In the north-east quarter were placed eight seats of honour, covered with cloth white as the flowers of the white mustard plant. Beyond these again, at a respectful distance, there was drawn a curtain fringed with jewels, and of the finest city manufacture, embroidered with images of stags, bulls, horses, men, crocodiles, birds, serpents, heavenly choristers, eight-legged deer, Tibetan cows, and elephants, with forest flowers and water lilies, forming a perfect screen from the multitude. Within this was set a throne covered with the purest white cloth, and fringed with gold and jewels, for Queen Tris'ala, soft and easy to sit on. Having then called the royal messengers, King Siddhārtha thus addressed them:—"O beloved of the gods, go quickly and call a sage skilled in the Institute of the eight kinds of prognostics, learned in all the Sāstras, and especially skilled in the interpretation of dreams." O beloved of the gods, the noble Tris'ala, to-night, after having slept a short time, saw, in her own splendid apartments, the following fourteen dreams: An elephant, a bull (as before). Tell me what particular good fortune, and special felicity, these dreams portend." Thereupon the interpreters of dreams, with glad and joyous hearts, having heard the request of the noble Siddhārtha, one of them, citing the texts from the Institute of Dreams, spoke as follows:— "O beloved of the gods, we have diligently searched the Institute of Dreams, and find that there are forty-two common dreams, and thirty extraordinary dreams, in all seventy two. And it is further said, that the mother of an Arhat (highest order of Jain saint), or Chakravarti (emperor), sees fourteen of the thirty extraordinary dreams at the period of such child's conception.

It is further stated that the mother of a Vāsudēva, on such an occasion, sees seven, and then awakes; and the mother of a Baladeva, four; while the mother of a Mandalika Raja (dependent king), sees one. Since, then, O beloved of the gods, the noble Tris'ala has seen the whole of the fourteen propitious dreams; this portends the obtaining of wealth, the obtaining of felicity, the obtaining of a son, the obtaining of joy, the obtaining of sovereignty,— and all this, O beloved of the gods, without any sort of doubt. Accordingly, after nine months and seven and a half days, the noble Tris'ala will bring forth a son, who shall be a royal standard to his family, ... an emperor of the four regions of the world, a conqueror of the passions, and also emperor of the four virtues. Such, O beloved of the gods, is the purport of the propitious dreams the noble Tris'ala saw." Having then loaded them with sweetmeats, sweet-smelling garlands, garments, ornaments, and such gifts as were due to them, King Siddhārtha, with the highest reverence and honour, dismissed the interpreters of dreams.

It was in the summer season, in the first month, in the second demi-lunation, during the bright half of the moon of Chaitra, on the thirteenth day, after a gestation of nine months and seven and a half days, that the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra was born, a faultless child, when the planets were at their greatest elongation, and when they were in a fortunate conjunction with the moon. It was at midnight, under the constellation of Uttara Phalguni, at a lucky conjunction of the moon and planets, that the event took place.

The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra was learned and intent on the acquisition of knowledge, perfect in his form, and free from all defects, benevolent and affable in disposition. Thirty years he lived as a householder, but after the departure to the abode of the gods of his father and mother, he determined to carry out his purpose, and obtained the consent of his brother, who had now become king. While the venerable

ascetic Mahāvīra was yet living in the society of men, and following the religious practice of a householder, he had obtained incomparable, all-manifesting indestructible intelligence and perception. Therefore by this incomparable, all-manifesting intelligence and perception, clearly seeing that the time of his initiation had arrived, he abandoned in fixed resolve all his silver, abandoned all his gold, his wealth, kingdom, country, army, chariots, treasury, store-houses, city, private apartments, and society; and taking his money, golden ornaments, jewels, precious stones, pearls, conchs, corals, rubies, and other precious stones, he distributed them in charity, and divided them among his relations. Thereupon the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra accompanied also with all his wealth, all his glory, all his troops, all his chariots, all his attendants, all his magnificence, all his ornaments, all his grandeur, all his wealth, all his subjects, all his dancers, all his musicians, all the members of the female apartments, in the midst of all these attendants, and while all those musical instruments were sounding, he proceeded through the midst of Kuṇḍanagar, to the garden called the Prince's Park, where the As'oka (Free from Sorrow) tree grew; under it he alighted from his palanquin of state, and stripped himself of all his garlands, jewels, and ornaments; he then performed the fast of abstinence from six meals without drinking water, and having torn out five locks of his hair, he then, under the constellation Uttara Phalguni, at a fortunate conjunction of the moon, assumed the garment of the gods, and all alone, without a companion, and having been shaved, from a householder he became a houseless pilgrim. The adorable ascetic hero for one year and a month wore clothing, afterwards he went robeless, and had no vessel but his hand. The adorable ascetic Mahāvīra, for twelve years and full six months, entirely neglected his body, and laid aside all care of his person, and with whatever things he was brought in contact, whether gods, men, or other animals, whether pleasing or displeasing,

he conducted himself with perfect patience and equanimity. and felt nothing dispirited by the wretchedness of his condition. The adorable ascetic Mahāvīra was now houseless, a wanderer, a speaker of the truth, eating only what had no fault, having no vessel either to receive presents, or to make oblations, altogether free from pride, perturbation, sin and selfishness, having no gold, plate, nor coin; and as water does not enter the substance of the brazen vessel that is dipped into it, nor sound into that of the conch which emits it, so his soul was not subject to the accidents of mortality, but like the firmament, raised above the world, unrestrained like air and fire, and pure as the showers in spring. His person resembled pure gold, and was of the colour of pure honey or fire; and yet he was patient as the earth, trodden on by the feet of all the world—he had no attachment or tie binding him to the world. These ties are of four kinds: articles of possession, place, time, affections.

On finishing the rest of the rainy season, the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra travelled eight months, during hot and cold weather, remaining a night at a village, and five in a city, esteeming the dust of ill-flavoured wood and of sandal-wood the same; looking on grass and pearls, gold and a clod of earth, pleasure and pain as all alike, bound neither to this world nor to the world to come, desiring neither life nor death, wholly superior to worldly attachments, setting himself to slay the enemy, Works*. Thus did he labour for twelve years in the road that leads to absolute repose (Nirvāna), to attain perfect wisdom and perception, religious practice, abstraction from the love of home and country, power, indifference to every object, readiness to obey, patience, freedom from desire, self-restraint, joy, truth, mercy and perfection in austerity. In the second half of the thirteenth year, when half a month had elapsed in the summer season, in the second month of summer, the month Vais'ākha, in the fourth

* Karma.

demilunation, the tenth day after the full moon, when the shadow was going eastward, and one watch remained on the day called Savita*, and the Muhūrta called Vijaya, at the town of Trimbhikagrama, outside the town, at a river called Rituvalika, at a moderate distance from the Yakṣa temple, called Vairyavartta, in the field of a husbandman named Sama, under a Sāl tree, sitting in a crouching posture as one does in milking a cow, while inflaming his mind with devotion on the heated earth, and after the fast of six meals without the use of water, under the constellation Uttara Phalguni, at the time of a fortunate lunar conjunction, while he was engaged in abstract meditation, he obtained infinite, incomparable, indestructible. unclouded, universal, perfect, certain, supreme intelligence and perception. Thereupon the adorable ascetic hero having become an Arhat (worthy of divine honours), a Jina (a conqueror of the passions), a man of established wisdom, omniscient, all-percipient, he knew and saw all the qualities of the three worlds inhabited by gods, men, and demons, being perfectly acquainted with all the comings and goings, staying and movements of all living creatures, in all worlds, as well as with their mental cogitations, lawful and unlawful enjoyments, and their open and concealed actions; being an Araha, (one from whom nothing is concealed), and the undisguised object of worship to all beings. At that time, then, having obtained a perfect knowledge and perception of all the qualities and conditions of all living creatures, in all the world, characterized by mental, vocal, or bodily attributes, he continued ever after to enjoy the same.

At this time the adorable ascetic Mahāvira came to the town Asthigrāma, and spent there the first rest of the rainy season. Proceeding then to Champa and Prishṭachampa he there spent three, at Vānijyagrama near Vais'āli he spent twelve, and in the village of Nalanda near Rajagriha fourteen,

* Sunday.

six at Mithila, two at Bhadrika, one at Alambhika, one at S'râvasti, one at Panitabhūmi, and the last of the rainy season he spent at Papa, where reigned King S'astipâla. There having spent the season of rest at the royal court, in the fourth month, in the seventh demi-lunation, on the night immediately preceding the new moon, was the time of the adorable ascetic hero completed, his earthly career finished, the bands of decay and death loosed, and he entered on a state of perfect bliss, wisdom, liberty, freedom from care and passion, and absence of all pain.

On the night on which the adorable ascetic hero was delivered from all pain, Gotama Indrabhūti, the chief of his perfectly initiated disciples, had the bonds of affection by which he was tied to his preceptor cut asunder, and attained infinite, certain, and supreme intelligence and perception. On the same night the Navamallika and Navalechhiki, kings who reigned at Kâsi and Kosala, after performing the fast of the new moon and sitting awhile motionless, said, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material substances." On the same night the planet Kshudra Bhasmaka, destined to continue two thousand years, ascended the natal constellation of the Lord Mahâvira, and as long as it continues there, there will be a great waning of piety and religious worship, among male and female ascetics and religious persons, but when the planet descends from that constellation, ascetism and piety will blaze forth with new brilliance.

The venerable ascetic Mahâvira lived thirty years as a householder, and then twelve years and six months and a full half month more a sage only in outward guise; thirty years less six and a holy month in the exercise of perfect wisdom, altogether having lived seventy-two years. At that time the four Charans* of this Avasarpiṇi, *i. e.*, Vēdani, Āyu, Nama, and Gotra, were finished, and the fourth Ara, called Dukhamasukhama, had all expired except three years, and eight and a

* Quarters.

half months, in the city of Papa (Mâg. Pâwa), alone without a companion, performing the fast in which abstinence is kept up for three full days and nights, without even tasting water, under the constellation Svati, at a fortunate conjunction of the moon, in the morning, the lord sat down upon his lotus seat, while the public reading of the fifty-fifth lesson, which speaks of the fruits of righteousness and of sin, was going on. At that time repeating without a prompter the sixty-sixth, called the chief lesson, he obtained emancipation, and entered on a state of freedom from passion, and absence of pain. After nine hundred years from his departure had elapsed, and in the eightieth year of the currency of the tenth hundred, this book was written, and was publicly read in the currency of the ninety-third year.

— (ii) —

The Buddha.

[The following is an abridgment of the life of the Buddha as detailed in the Nidānakathā. It gives in fullness the orthodox Buddhist account from which it is easy to separate history from the embellishments of exaggeration. Buddha's mission in life and his actual achievements stand out clearly, as also the teaching peculiar to him. The rooting out of desire, and righteousness in conduct are the end and the means respectively. These lead ultimately to the attainment of salvation, according to the Buddhists, Nirvāṇa.]

[Abridged extract from the *Nidanakatha*, Buddhist Birth Stories: Vol. I. T. W. Rhys Davids.]

And queen Mahā Māyā, when she too had thus cherished the Bōdisat in her womb, like oil in a vessel, for ten months, felt herself far gone with child: and wishing to go to her family home she spake to King Suddhōdana, and said,

"O king! I wish to go to Dēvadāha, to the city of my people."

The king, saying, "It is good," consented, and had the road from Kapilavastu to Dēvadāha made plain, and decked with arches of plantain-trees, and well-filled water-pots, and flags, and banners. And seating the queen in a golden palanquin carried by a thousand attendants, he sent her away with a great retinue.

Now between the two towns there is a pleasure-grove of sāl-trees belonging to the people of both cities, and called the Lumbini grove. At that time, from the roots to the top-most branches, it was one mass of fruits and flowers; and amidst the blossoms and branches swarms of various-coloured bees, and flocks of birds of different kinds, roamed, warbling sweetly. The whole of the Lumbini grove was like a wood of variegated creepers, or well-decorated banqueting hall of some mighty king. The queen beholding it was filled with the desire of besporting herself in the sāl-tree grove; and the attendants, carrying the queen, entered the wood. When she came to the monarch sāl-tree of the glade, she wanted to take hold of a branch of it, and the branch bending down, like a reed heated by steam, approached within reach of her hand Stretching out her hand she took hold of a branch, and then her pains came upon her. The people drawing a curtain round her, retired. Standing, and holding the branch of the sāl-tree, she was delivered.

Now at the very time when our Bōdisat was born in the Lumbini grove, the lady, the mother of Rāhula, Channa the attendant, Kaludāyi the minister, Kanthaka the royal horse, the great Bō-tree, and the four vases full of treasure, also came into being. Of these last, one was two miles, one four, one six, and one eight miles in size. These seven are called the Sahajāta, the Connatal Ones.

The people of both towns took the Bōdisat and went to Kapilavastu. On that day too, the choirs of angels in the

Tāvatimsa heaven were astonished and joyful; and waved their cloaks and rejoiced, saying, "In Kapilavastu, to Suddhōdana the king, a son is born, who, seated under the Bō-tree, will become a Buddha."

But the Bōdisat in due course grew to manhood. And the king had three mansions made, suitable for the three seasons, one nine stories high, one seven stories high, and one five stories high; and he provided him with forty thousand dancing girls. So the Bōdisat, surrounded by well-dressed dancing girls, like a god surrounded by troops of houris, and attended by musical instruments which played of themselves, lived, as the seasons changed, in each of these mansions in enjoyment of great majesty. And the mother of Rāhula was his principal queen.

Now one day the future Buddha, wanting to go to his pleasure ground, told his charioteer to harness his chariot. The latter accordingly decked the gloriously beautiful chariot with all its trappings, and harnessed to it four state horses of the Sindhi breed, and white as the leaves of the white lotus flower. And he informed the Bōdisat. So the Bōdisat ascended the chariot, resplendent like a mansion in the skies, and went towards the garden.

The angels thought, "The time for young Siddhattha to attain Enlightenment is near, let us show him the Omens." And they did so by making a son of the gods represent a man wasted by age, with decayed teeth and grey hair, bent and broken down in body, and with a stick in his hand. But he was only visible to the future Buddha and his charioteer.

Then the Bōdisat asked his charioteer, as is told in the Mahāpadāna, "What kind of man is this, whose very hair is not as that of other men?" When he heard his servant's answer, he said, "Shame then be to life! since the decay of every living being is notorious!" and with agitated heart he turned back at that very spot and re-entered his palace.

The King asked, "Why does my son turn back so hurriedly?"

"He has seen an old man," they said; "and having seen an old man, he will forsake the world."

"By this you ruin me," exclaimed the raja; "quickly get ready concerts and plays to be performed before my son. So long as he continues in the enjoyment of pleasure he will not turn his thoughts to forsaking the world." Then increasing the guards, he placed them at each point of the compass, at intervals of half a league.

Again, one day, when the future Buddha, as he was going to his pleasure ground, saw a sick man represented by the gods, he made the same inquiry as before; and then, with agitated heart, turned back and re-entered his palace. The king also made the same inquiry, and gave the same orders as before; and again increasing the guards, placed them all round at a distance of three-quarters of a league.

Once more, when the future Buddha, as he was going to his pleasure ground, saw a dead man represented by the gods, he made the same inquiry as before; and then, with agitated heart, turned back and re-entered his palace. The king also made the same inquiry, and gave the same orders as before; and again increasing the guards, placed them all round at a distance of a league.

Once again, when the future Buddha, as he was going to his pleasure ground, saw one who had abandoned the world, carefully and decently clad, he asked his charioteer, "Friend, what kind of man is that?" As at that time there was no Buddha at all in the world, the charioteer understood neither what a mendicant was or what were his distinguishing characteristics; but nevertheless, inspired by the gods, he said, "That is a mendicant friar;" and described the advantages of renouncing the world. And that day the future Buddha, cherishing the thought of renouncing the world, went on to his pleasure ground.

At that time Suddhōdana the king, who had heard that the mother of Rāhula had brought forth a son, sent a message, saying, "Make known my joy to my son!" The future Buddha hearing this said, "An impediment has come into being, a bond has come into being." When the king asked, "What did my son say?" and heard that saying, he gave command, "From henceforth let Rāhula (impediment) be my grandson's name." But the Bōdisat, riding in his splendid chariot, entered the town with great magnificence and exceeding glory.

At that time a noble virgin, Kis'a Gotami by name, had gone to the flat roof of the upper story of her palace, and she beheld the beauty and majesty of the Bōdisat as he was proceeding through the city. Pleased and delighted at the sight, she burst forth into this song of joy:—

> Blessed indeed is that mother,
> Blessed indeed is that father,
> Blessed indeed is that wife,
> Who owns this Lord so glorious!

Hearing this, the Bōdisat thought to himself, "On catching sight of such a one the heart of his mother is made happy, the heart of his father is made happy, the heart of his wife made happy! This is all she says. But by what can every heart attain to lasting happiness and peace? And to him whose mind was estranged from sin the answer came, "When the fire of lust is gone out then peace is gained; when the fires of hatred and delusion are gone out, then peace is gained; when the troubles of mind arising from pride, credulity, and all other sins, have ceased, then peace is gained! Sweet is the lesson this singer makes me hear, for the Nirvāna of Peace is that which I have been trying to find out. This very day I will break away from household cares! I will renounce the world! I will follow only after the Nirvāna itself!

Resolving that very day to accomplish the Great Renunciation, he rose from his couch, went to the door and called out, " Who is there ? "

Channa, who had been sleeping with his head on the threshold, answered, " It is I, sir, Channa."

Then, said he, " I am resolved to-day to accomplish the Great Renunciation — saddle me a horse."

Now after the Bōdisat had sent Channa on this errand, he thought, " I will just look at my son." And rising from his couch he went to the apartments of Rāhula's mother, and opened her chamber door. At that moment a lamp, fed with sweet-smelling oil, was burning dimly in the inner chamber. The mother of Rāhula was asleep on a bed strewn with many jasmine flowers, and resting her hand on the head of her son. Stopping with his foot on the threshold, the Bōdisat thought, " If I lift her hand to take my son, she will awake ; and that will prevent my going away. I will come back and see him when I have become a Buddha." And he left the palace.

And when the Bōdisat had left the palace, he went to his horse, and said, " My good Kanthaka, do thou save me this once to-night ; so that I, having become a Buddha by your help, shall save the world of men, and that of angels too." Then leaping up, he seated himself on Kanthaka's back.

The Bōdisat rode on the mighty back of the mighty steed : told Channa to catch hold of its tail, and arrived at midnight at a great gate of the city.

But the future Buddha, making light of the kingdom of the world, thus within his reach, — casting it away as one would saliva,— left the city with great honour of the full-moon day of A'sālhi (Asāda), when the moon was in the Uttarasālha (Uttarāsāda) lunar mansion (*i. e.* on the 1st July).

Hence it was that he only got over thirty leagues.

Now the Bōdisat, stopping at the river side, asked Channa, " What is this river called ? "

" Its name, my lord, is Anoma "

" And so also our renunciation of the world shall be called Anoma (illustrious)," said he ; and signalling to his horse, by pressing it with his heel, the horse sprang over the river five or six hundred yards in breadth, and stood on the opposite bank.

The Bōdisat, getting down from the horse's back, stood on the sandy beach, extending there like a sheet of silver, and said to Channa, " Good Channa, do thou now go back, taking my ornaments and Kanthaka. I am going to become a hermit."

" But I also, my lord, will become a hermit."

" You cannot be allowed to renounce the world, you must go back," he said. Three times he refused this request of Channa's ; and he delivered over to him both the ornaments and Kanthaka.

> The three robes, and the alms bowl,
> Razor, needle, and girdle,
> And a water strainer — these eight
> Are the wealth of the monk devout.

Taking these eight requisites of a mendicant, he gave them to him. The Bōdisat dressed himself in the outward signs of an Arahat, and adopted the sacred garb of Renunciation ; and he enjoined upon Channa to go and, in his name, assure his parents of his safety. And Channa did homage to the Bōdisat reverently, and departed.

But the Bōdisat, having renounced the world, spent seven days in a mango grove called Anupiya, hard by that spot, the joy of salvation. Then he went on foot in one day to Rājagāha, a distance of thirty leagues, and entering the city begged his food from door to door. The whole city at the sight of his beauty was thrown into commotion, like that other Rājagāha by the entrance of Dhana-pālaka, or like heaven itself by the entrance of the Ruler of the Gods.

And the Bōdisat went forward on his way. And joining himself to Alara Kalan a, and to Uddaka, son of Rama, he

acquired their systems of ecstatic trance. But when he saw that that was not the way to wisdom, he left off applying himself to the realization of that system of Attainment. And with the intention of carrying out the Great Struggle against sin, and showing his might and resolution to gods and men, he went to Uruvela. And saying, "Pleasant, indeed, is this spot!" he took up his residence there, and devoted himself to the Great Struggle.

Now the Bōdisat thought, "I will perform the uttermost penance." And he brought himself to live on one seed of the oil plant, or one grain of rice, and even to fast entirely; but the angels gathered the sap of life and infused it into him through the pores of his skin. By this fasting, however, he became as thin as a skeleton; the colour of his body, once fair as gold, became dark; and the Thirty-two signs of a Great Being disappeared. And one day, when walking up and down, plunged in intense meditation, he was overcome by severe pain; and he fainted, and fell.

And the Great Being's six years' penance became noised abroad, as when the sound of a great bell is heard in the sky. But he perceived that penance was not the way to Wisdom; and begging through the villages and towns, he collected ordinary material food, and lived upon it. And the Thirty-two signs of a Great Being appeared again upon him, and his body became fair in colour, like unto gold.

Then the five attendant mendicants thought, "This man has not been able, even by six years' penance, to attain Omniscience; how can he do so now, when he goes begging through the villages, and takes material food? He is altogether lost in the Struggle. To think of getting spiritual advantage from him is like a man, who wants to bathe his head, thinking of using a dewdrop. What is to be got from him?" And leaving the Great Being, they took each his robes and begging bowl, and went eighteen leagues away, and entered Is'ipatana (a suburb of Benares, famous for its schools of learning).

The Bōdisat turning his back upon the trunk of the Bō-tree, and with his face towards the East, made the firm resolve "My skin, indeed, and nerves, and bones, may become arid, and the very blood in my body may dry up; but till I attain to complete insight, this seat I will not leave!" And he sat himself down in a cross-legged position, firm and immovable, as if welded with a hundred thunderbolts.

At that time the angel Māra, thinking, "Siddattha the prince wants to free himself from my dominion. I will not let him get free yet!" went to the hosts of his angels, and told the news. And sounding the drum, called "Satan's War-cry," he led forth the army of Satan.

Thus was Māra unable by these nine — the wind, and the rain, and the rocks, and the weapons, and the charcoal, and the ashes, and the sand, and the mud, and the darkness — to drive away the future Buddha. So he called on his host and said, "Why stand you still? Seize, or slay, or drive away this prince!" And himself mounted the Mountain-girded and seated on his back, he approached the future Buddha, and cried out, "Get up, Siddattha, from that seat! It does not belong to thee! It is meant for me!"

The Great Being listened to his words, and said, "Māra! it is not by you that the Ten Cardinal Virtues have been perfected, nor the lesser Virtues, nor the higher Virtues. It is not you who have sacrificed yourself in the five great Acts of Self-renunciation, who have diligently sought after Knowledge, and the Salvation of the world, and the attainment of Wisdom. This seat does not belong to thee, it is to me that it belongs."

At the Bō-tree's foot the Nāga bands
Shouted, for joy that the Sage had won;
"The Blessed Buddha — he hath prevailed!
And the Tempter is overthrown!"

At the Bō-tree's foot the Winged Ones
Shouted, for joy that the Sage had won;
"The Blessed Buddha — he hath prevailed!
And the Tempter is overthrown!"

At the Bō-tree's foot the Angel hosts
Shouted, for joy that the Sage had won;
"The Blessed Buddha — he hath prevailed!
And the Tempter is overthrown!"

At the Bō-tree's foot the Brahma Gods
Shouted, for joy that the Sage had won;
"The Blessed Buddha — he hath prevailed!
And the Tempter is overthrown!"

It was while the sun was still above the horizon, that the Great Being thus put to flight the army of the Evil One. Then, whilst the Bo-tree paid him homage, as it were, by its shoots like springs of red coral falling over his robe, he acquired in the first watch of the night the Knowledge of the Past, in the middle watch the Knowledge of the Present, and in the third watch the Knowledge of the Chain of Causation which leads to the Origin of Evil.

It was thus in surpassing glory and honour, and with many wonders happening around, that he attained Omniscience, and gave went to his emotion in the Hymn of Triumph, sung by all the Buddhas.

Long have I wandered! long!
Bound by the Chain of Life,
Through many births:
Seeking thus long, in vain,
"Whence comes this Life in man, his Consciousness, his Pain!"
And hard to bear is Birth,
When pain and death lead to Birth again.

Found! It is found!
O Cause of Individuality!
No longer shalt thou make a house for me:
Broken are all thy beams.
Thy ridge-pole shattered!
Into Nirvāna now my mind has past:
The end of cravings has been reached at last!

"And then the Blessed One sat mentionless for seven days, realizing the bliss of Nirvāṇa."

Then he thought of the five mendicants, how faithfully they had served him for a time, and casting about in his mind where they then might be, he perceived they were at the Deer-forest in Benares. And he determined, saying, "There I will go to inaugurate the Kingdom of Righteousness." But he delayed a few days, begging his daily food in the neighbourhood of the Bō-tree, with the intention of going to Benares on the full-moon day of the month of May.

And at dawn of the fourteenth day of the month, when the night had passed away, he took his robe and his bowl; and had gone eighteen leagues, just half way, when he met the Hindu mendicant Upaka. And he announced him how he had become a Buddha; and on the evening of that day he arrived at the hermitage near Benares.

The five mendicants, seeing already from afar the Buddha coming, said one to another, "Friend, here comes the mendicant Gotama. He has turned back to a free use of the necessaries of life, and has recovered roundness of form, acuteness of sense, and beauty of complexion. We ought to pay him no reverence; but as he is, after all, of a good family, he deserves the honour of a seat. So we will simply prepare a seat for him."

Then seated on the place prepared for him, and surrounded by myriads of angels, he addressed the five attendant elders, just as the moon was passing out of conjunction with the lunar mansion in June, and taught them in that discourse which was the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.

Of the five Elders, Kondanya the Believer gained in knowledge as the discourse went on; and as it concluded, he, with myriads of angels, had arrived at the Fruit of the First Path. And the Master, who remained there for the rainy season, sat in the Vihara the next day, when the other four had gone a-begging, talking to Vappa: and Vappa that morning attained to the Fruit of the First Path. And, in a similar manner, Bhaddiya on the next day, and Maha Nāma on the next, and Assaji on the next, attained to the Fruit of the First Path. And, on the fifth day, he called all five to his side, and preached them the discourse. On the Non-existence of the Soul; and at the end of that discourse all the five elders attained to Nirvāṇa.

Then the Master perceived that Yas'a, a young man of good family, was capable of entering the Paths. And at night-time, as he was going away, having left his home in weariness of the world, the Master called him, saying, "Follow me, Yas'a!" and on that very night he attained to the Fruit of the First Path, and on the next day to Arahatship. And He received also the other fifty-four, his companions, into the order, with the formula, "Follow me!" and caused them to attain to Arahatship.

Now when there were in the world sixty-one persons who had become Arahats, the Master, after the rainy season and the Feast with which it closes were over, sent out the sixty in different directions, with the words, "Go forth, O mendicants, preaching and teaching." And himself going towards Uruvela, overcame at the Kappasiya forest, half way thither, the thirty young Bhadda-vajjiyan nobles. Of these the least advanced the Third Path: and he received them all into the Order with the formula, "Follow me!" And sending them also forth into the regions round about, he himself went on to Uruvela.

There he overcame, by performing three thousand five hundred miracles, the three Hindu ascetics, brothers, — Uruvela Kassapa and the rest, — who had one thousand disciples.

And he received them into the Order with the formula, "Follow me!" and established them in Arahatship by his discourse, when they were seated on the Gaya-s'is'a-hill, "On the lessons to be drawn from Fire." And attended by these thousand Arahats, he went to the grove called the Palm-grove, hard by Rājagāha, with the object of redeeming the promise he had made to Bimbisāra the king!

When the king heard from the keeper of the grove the saying, "The Master is come," he went to the Master, attended by innumerable priests and nobles, and fell down at the feet of the Buddha,— those sacred feet, which bore on their surface the mystic figure of the sacred wheel, and gave forth a halo of light like a canopy of cloth of gold. Then he and his retinue respectfully took their seats on one side.

Now the question occurred to those priests and nobles, "How is it, then? has the Great Mendicant entered as a student in religion under Uruvela Kassapa, or Uruvela Kassapa under the Great Mendicant?" And the Blessed One, becoming aware of their thus doubting within themselves, addressed the Elder in the verse —

> What hast thou seen, O dweller in Uruvela,
> That thou hast abandoned the Fire God, counting thyself poor?
> I ask thee, Kassapa, the meaning of this thing:
> How is it thou hast given up the sacrifice of fire?

And the Elder, perceiving what the Blessed One intended, replied in the verse —

> Some men rely on sights, and sounds, and taste,
> Others on sensual love, and some on sacrifice;
> But this, I see, is dross so long as sin remains.
> Therefore I find no charm in offerings great or small.

And (in order to make known his discipleship) he bowed his head to the Buddha's feet, saying, "The Blessed Lord is my master, and I am the disciple!" And seven times he rose into the air up to the height of one, two, three, and so on, up

to the height of seven palm-trees, and descending again, he saluted the Buddha, and respectfully took a seat aside. Seeing that wonder, the multitude praised the Master, saying, "Ah! how great is the power of the Buddhas! Even so mighty an infidel as this has thought him worthy! Even Uruvela Kassapa has broken through the net of delusion, and has yielded to the successor of the Buddhas!"

But the Blessed One said, "Not now only have I overcome Uruvela Kassapa; in former ages, too, he was conquered by me." And he uttered in that connexion the Maha Narada Kassapa Jātaka, and proclaimed the Four Truths. And the king of Magadha, with nearly all his retinue, attained to the Fruit of the First Path, and the rest became lay disciples (without entering the Paths).

Then the Master entered upon the path thus made free by the Archangel, and entered Rājagaha attended by a thousand mendicants. The king gave a great donation to the Order with the Buddha at their head; and had water brought, bright as gems, and scented with flowers, in a golden goblet. And he poured the water over the hand of the Buddha, in token of the presentation of the Bambu Grove, saying, "I, my lord, cannot live without the Three Gems (the Buddha, the Order, and the Faith). In season and out of season I would visit the Blessed One. Now the Grove of Reeds is far away; but this Grove of mine, called the Bambu Grove, is close by, is easy of resort, and is a fit dwelling-place for a Buddha. Let the Blessed One accept it of me!"

And when the Master has accepted the Bambu Grove Monastery, and had given thanks for it, he rose from his seat and went, surrounded by the members of the Order, to the Bambu Grove.

Now whilst the Successor of the Buddhas was dwelling there in the Bambu Grove, Suddhādana the king heard that his son, who for six years had devoted himself to works of self-mortification, had attained to Complete Enlightenment, had

founded the Kingdom of Righteousness, and was then dwelling at the Bambu Grove near Rājagaha. So he said to a certain courtier, "Look you, Sir; take a thousand men as a retinue, and go to Rājagaha, and say in my name, 'Your father, Suddhādana the King, desires to see you;' and bring my son here."

So the King said to him, "Friend Kāla Udayin, as I wanted to see my son, I sent nine times a thousand men; but there is not one of them who has either come back or sent a message. Now the end of my life is not far off, and I desire to see my son before I die. Can you help me to see my son?"

"I can, O King!" was the reply, "if I am allowed to become a recluse."

"My friend," said the king, "become a recluse or not as you will, but help me to see my son!"

And he respectfully received the king's message, with the words, "So be it, O King", and went to Rājagaha; and stood at the edge of the disciples at the time of the Master's instruction, and heard the gospel, and attained Arahatship with his followers, and was received into the Order.

"My lord!" was the reply, "Your father is anxious to see you once more; will you not show favour to your relations?"

"'Tis well said, Udayin! I will do so. Tell the Order that they shall fulfil the duty laid on all its members of journeying from place to place."

Kāla Udayin accordingly told the brethren. And the Blessed One, attended by twenty thousand mendicants free from sin — ten thousand from the upper classes in Magadha and Anga, and ten thousand from the upper classes in Kapilavatthu — started from Rājagaha, and travelled a league a day; going slowly with the intention of reaching Kapilavatthu, sixty leagues from Rājagaha, in two months.

Some attendant announced it to the king, saying, "Your son is begging his bread from door to door;" and she magnified him with the eight stanzas on "The Lion among Men," beginning—

Glossy and dark and soft and curly is his hair,
Spotless and fair as the sun is his forehead;
Well-proportioned and prominent and delicate is his nose;
Around him is diffused a network of rays; –
The Lion among Men!

The king was deeply agitated; and he departed instantly, gathering up his robe in his hand, and went quickly and stood before the Blessed One, and said, "Why, Master, do you put us to shame? Why do you go begging for your food? Do you think it impossible to provide a meal for so many monks?"

"This is our custom, O king!" was the reply.

"Not so, Master! our descent is from the royal race of the Great Elected; and amongst them all not one chief has ever begged his daily food."

"This succession of kings is your descent, O king! but mine is the succession of the prophets (Buddhas), from Dīpaṁkara and Kondaṇya and the rest down to Kassapa. These, and thousands of other Buddhas, have begged their daily food, and lived on alms."

On the second day the mother of Rāhula arrayed the boy in his best, and sent him to the Blessed One, saying, "Look, dear, at that monk, attended by twenty thousand monks, and glorious in appearance as the Archangel Brahma! That is your father. He had certain great treasures, which we have not seen since he abandoned his home. Go now, and ask for your inheritance, saying, 'Father, I am your son. When I am crowned, I shall become a king over all the earth. I have need of the treasure. Give me the treasure; for a son is heir to his father's property.'"

The boy went up to the Blessed One, and gained the love of his father, and stood there glad and joyful, saying "Happy, O monk, is thy shadow!" and adding many other words befitting his position. When the Blessed One had ended his

meal, and had given thanks, he rose from his seat, and went away. And the child followed the Blessed One, saying, "O monk! give me my inheritance! give me my inheritance!"

And the Blessed One prevented him not. And the disciples, being with the Blessed One, ventured not to stop him. And so he went with the Blessed One even up to the grove. Then the Blessed One thought, "This wealth, this property of his father's, which he is asking for, perishes in the using, and brings vexation with it! I will give him the sevenfold wealth of the Arahats which I attained under the Bō-tree, and make him the heir of the spiritual inheritance!" And he said to Sāriputta, "Well, then, Sāriputta, receive Rāhula into the Order."

The Blessed one established his father in the Three Fruits; and he returned to Rājagāha attended by the company of the brethren, and resided at the Grove of Sīta.

The Master, hearing the messenger's words, left Rājagāha attended by a great multitude of monks, and in due course arrived at the city of Sāvatthi. Then the wealthy merchant decorated the monastery; and on the day on which the Buddha should arrive at Jētavana he arrayed his son in splendour, and sent him on with five hundred youths in festival attire. And he and his retinue, holding five hundred flags resplendent with cloth of five different colours, appeared before the Sage. And behind him Mahā-Subhaddā and Cūla-Subhaddā, the two daughters of the merchant, went forth with five hundred damsels carrying water-pots full of water. And behind them, decked with all her ornaments, the merchant's wife went forth, with five hundred matrons carrying vessels full of food. And behind them all the great merchant himself, clad in new robes, with five hundred traders also dressed in new robes, went out to meet the Blessed One.

To give to monks a dwelling-place,
Wherein in safety and in peace
To think till mysteries grow clear,
The Buddha calls a worthy deed.
Then they shall preach to him the Truth,—
The Truth, dispelling every grief,—
Which Truth, when here a man receives,
He sins no more, and dies away!

And so the Blessed One lived in that spot from the attainment of omniscience under the Bō-tree till his death.

CHAPTER V.

— (i) —

S'is'unāgas and Mauryas.

[This extract from the *Mahāvams'a of Ceylon* gives the history of what is known in Indian history as the S'ais'unāga dynasty. This is the Buddhist version of that history according to the Southern tradition. The *Mahāvams'a* is a history of Buddhism in Ceylon and was compiled, in the form in which it has come down to us, in the 6th century by Sthavira Buddhist monk Mahānāman. This account was no doubt based on earlier accounts, but its reliability for this part of history is not altogether above question. The Brahman and the Jain version of the same history have to be taken into account in considering the historical character of the Ceylon tradition.]

[*The Mahāvams'a or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon,* pp. 12, 18, 27 and 28, by Wilhelm Geiger, Ph. D.]

Bimbisāra and the Prince Siddhattha were friends, and friends likewise were the fathers of both. The Bōdhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra; twenty-nine years old was he when he left (his father's) house. When he had striven six years and thereafter had attained to wisdom, he, being thirty-five years old, visited Bimbisāra. The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father, and when sixteen years had gone by since his coming to the throne, the Master preached his doctrine. Two and fifty years he reigned; fifteen years of his reign passed before the meeting with the Conqueror, and yet thirty-seven years (of his reign) followed in the life time of the Tathāgata.

Bimbisara's son, the foolish Ajātasattu, reigned thirty-two years after he, the traitor, had slain (his father). In the eighth year of Ajātasattu the sage entered into nibbana and thereafter did he, Ajātasattu, reign yet twenty-four years......

When Ajātasattu's son Udayabhaddaka had slain him he, the traitor, reigned 16 years. Udayabhaddaka's son Anuruddhaka slew (his father) and Anuruddha's son named Munda did likewise. Traitors and fools, these (sons) reigned over the kingdom; in the reign of these two (kings) eight years elapsed.

Munda's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father and then did the evil-doer reign twenty-four years.

Then were the citizens wroth, saying: 'This is a dynasty of parricides,' and when they had banished the king Nāgadāsaka they met together and (since) the minister known by the name S'is'unāga was proved to be worthy, they anointed him king, mindful of the good of all. He reigned as king eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. At the end of the tenth year of Kālāsoka's reign a century had gone by since the parinibbana of the Sambuddha............

The sons of Kālāsoka were ten brothers, twenty-two years did they reign. Afterwards, the nine Nandas were kings in succession; they too reigned twenty-two years.

Then did the brahman Chānakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Chandagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth (Nanda), Dhanananda.

Twenty-four years he reigned, and his son Bindusāra reigned twenty-eight. A hundred glorious sons and one had Bindusāra; Asoka stood high above them all in valour, splendour, might and wondrous powers. He, when he had slain his ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers, won the undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa. Be it known, that two hundred and eighteen years had passed from the nibbana of the Master unto Asoka's consecration. Four years after the famous (Asoka) had won for himself the undivided sovereignty he consecrated himself as king in the city Pātaliputta. Straightway after his consecration his command spread so far as a yojana (upward) into the air and downward into the (depths of the) earth.

— (ii) —

S'is'unāgas.

[This and the following two extracts together give the history of the S'is'unāgas, Nandas and Mauryas, like the one preceding, but from the point of view of the Brahman *Purānas*. These give no details of reigns and as the statements are put in the future tense, these were too readily discredited. A careful comparison of the two will make it clear that the character for credibility is not all on one side. The older of these *Purānas* were put in their present form in the 4th century A. D., though the earliest may go back to the 2nd century.]

[*The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 68 to 70, by F. E. Pargiter, M. A.]

S'is'unāga will destroy all their prestige and will be king. Placing his son in Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode. S'is'unāga will reign 40 years. His son Kākavarna will obtain the earth 36 years. Ksemadharman will be king next 20 years. Ksatraujas will obtain the earth 40 years. Vimbisāra will be king 28 years. Ajātas'atru will be king 25 years. Dars'aka will be king 25 years. After him Udayin will be king 33 years. That king will make as his capital on the earth Kusumāpura on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year. Nandivardhana will be king 40 years. Mahānadin will be 43 years.

These will be the 10 S'is'unāga kings. The S'is'unāgas will endure 360 (or better, 163) years, being kings with ksatriya kinsfolk.

— (iii) —

Nandas.

As son of Mahānandin by a s'ūdra woman will be born a king, Mahāpadma (Nanda), who will exterminate all kṣatriyas. Thereafter kings will be of s'ūdra origin. Mahāpadma will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway. He will be 88 years on the earth. He will uproot all kṣatriyas, being urged on by prospective fortune. He will have 8 sons, of whom Sukalpa will be the first; and they will be kings in succession to Mahāpadma for 12 years.

A Brahman Kauṭilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

— (iv) —

Mauryas.

Kauṭilya will anoint Chandragupta as king in the realm. Chandragupta will be king 24 years. Vindusāra will be king 25 years. Asoka will be king 36 years. His son Kunāla will reign 8 years.

Kuṇāla's son Bandhupālita will enjoy the kingdom 8 years. Their grandson Das'ōna will reign 7 years. His son Das'aratha will be king 8 years. His son Samprati will reign 9 years. S'ālis'uka will be king 13 years. Dēvadharman will be king 7 years. His son S'atadhanvan will be king 8 years. Bṛhadratha will reign 70 years.

These are the 10 Mauryas who will enjoy the earth full 137 years. After them it will go to the Sungas.

CHAPTER VI.

— (i) —

Chandragupta Maurya.

[In this extract is given the circumstances under which the Indian Chandragupta came into touch with Seleucus of Asia, the successor to Alexander in the Asiatic portions of his Empire. This extract was made by Justin from an earlier work belonging to the age of Augustus, the first Roman Emperor who died in A. D. 14. Justin himself must have lived before the 5th century A. D. and no more precise date of his is known to us as yet.]

[*The Indian Antiquary.*
Vol. VI. p. 114.]

Justinus says of Seleukos Nikator, 'He *carried on many wars in the East after the division* of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Baktriane, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors, thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery. Sandrokottos had made it free: but when victory was gained he changed the name of freedom to that of bondage, for he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonos."

— (ii) —

The India of Megasthenes.

[This and the following four extracts are taken from the Indica of Megasthenes whose acquaintance with India extended over a number of years. He was in the Court of Sybertios of Sogdiana before he was sent to India as Seleucus' ambassador to the Court of Chandragupta. His account of India, such part of it as has come down to us, is a faithful impression of all that he saw and heard of the country. Much that may seem unreliable is due to the sources of his information, and he cannot be convicted either of ignorant credulity or of conscious untruth. Such part of his work as can be ascribed to his direct observation or immediate access to sources of information are capable of confirmation from other sources. His work therefore is of double importance: firstly as a direct source of information for an important period of Early Indian History, and secondly as providing an important test of the reliability or otherwise of native accounts such as we have. The first extract gives an account of the various important classes of Mauryan society ; the second is a description of Pataliputra (Patna), and of the manners of the Indians generally ; the third is a description of the administration, both civil and military, such as Megasthenes found it obviously ; and the last extract gives us an insight into the intellectual condition of the society.]

Classes of People.

[*The Indian Antiquary.* Vol. VI. pp. 123-124.]

The whole population of India is divided into seven castes of which the *first* is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers, which in point of number is inferior to the other

classes, but in point of dignity pre-eminent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices in due time, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead ; for they are *believed* to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

The *second* caste consists of the Husbandmen, who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage ; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going to town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil

The *third* caste consists of Neatherds and Shepherds, and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns or villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds, — all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.

The *fourth* caste consists of the Artisans. Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

The *fifth* caste is the Military. It is well organised and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force — men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all — are maintained at the king's expense.

The *sixth* caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the King, or where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

The *seventh* caste consists of the Councillors and Assessors of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle the disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

Such, then, are about the parts into which the body-politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own; for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.

— (iii) —

Pātaliputra.

[*Indian Antiquary.* Vol. VI. pp. 131-133.]

According to Megasthenes the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 100 stadia, and its least depth 20 fathoms. At the meeting of this river and another is situated Palibothra, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth.* It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this country is situated is the most distinguished in all India, and is called the Prasii. The king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrakottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. (This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakai, though each has his own peculiar name, as Orodes, Phraates, or some other).

The greatest city in India is according to Megasthenes, that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas † and the Ganges unite, — the Ganges being the greatest of all the rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the walls were crowned with

* About 9 miles by 1¾. † Hiranyavāha, the Sone.

570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedaemonians and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakadaemonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

Of the manners of Indians.

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmae, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve; for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. No one wears a crown at a sacrifice or libation, and they do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artisan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves; (but Onesikritos says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Musikanos ruled).

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents. The guards and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life.

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person, — that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing the cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.

— (iv) —

The Administration.

[*Indian Antiquary.* Vol. VI. pp. 238-39.]

Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect

the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud with regard to this tax is punished with death.

Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples. Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also

consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and elephant to the stables. They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men — three who shoot arrows, and the driver.

— (v) —

Intellectual Condition.

[*Indian Antiquary.*
Vol. VI. pp. 243-245.]

Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers saying that they are of two kinds — one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmanes. The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they

are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security. They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers; for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced. The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brachmanes.

Of the Sarmanes he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi. They live in the woods where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They

communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature. This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude.

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them.

CHAPTER VII.

Asoka.

[The third ruler of the Maurya dynasty was Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta. The empire which came down to him comprised all Northern India and the Dekhan. He carried on one war against the Kalingas of what is now Orissa. A change came over him as a result of this war in the 13th year of his reign, and henceforward he devoted himself to peace and the pursuit of a virtuous life both for himself and the people entrusted to his care. The various lines of action he adopted towards the achievement of this laudable desire of his, find expression in the various edicts which he got imprinted in the remotest corners of his vast empire on rocks, pillars and equally permanent objects. The three extracts given below explain themselves and make an autobiography of this pious Buddhist who appears to have devoted himself to inculcating the general feeling of piety among those that came under his influence rather than to preach the doctrines of his particular creed. It was a magnificent effort and if it failed it was because this is an imperfect world. It is likely that Asoka left his subjects better than he found them, at any rate morally.]

— (i) —

The Fourteen Rock Edicts.

(Translation of the Shahbazgarhi Version.)

[Dr. G. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. pp. 466-472.]

EDICT I.

PREVENTION OF KILLING.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods :— No animal may be

slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some kinds of festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, in order to prepare curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain daily, two (2) peacocks and one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will no longer be slaughtered.

EDICT II.

PROVISION OF MEDICAMENTS.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, as well as among those nations and princes that are his neighbours, such as the Chodas, the Paṃdiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapamni, the Yona king called Aṃtiyoka as well as among those who are the vassal-kings of this Aṃtiyoka, — everywhere King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) kinds of hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by the king's order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.

EDICT III.

CIRCUITS FOR PREACHING RELIGION.

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—When I had been anointed twelve years (this following order was given by me):—"Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,

— the reason of this is the preaching the sacred law — as also for other business, (saying):— Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father, (meritorious is the liberality) towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards *Brahmans and ascetics*; (meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures), meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox men. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all schools* will inculcate what is befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit."

EDICT IV.

GROWTH OF PIETY (DHARMA).

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, during which the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives and the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums, or rather the sound of the law, has been heard, while the sight of cars of the gods, elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarsin's preaching of the law, non-destruction of animals, good treatment of living creatures, decorous behaviour towards relatives, decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, obedience towards parents, obedience towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow still more. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, and will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, *viz.*, the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not possible for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz.* that they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this edict has been written. This edict has been written by King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

EDICT V.

OVERSEERS OF THE SACRED LAW (DHARMA).

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:— Good works are difficult of performance. He who is the originator of good works does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. If then, my sons and my grandsons and those among my descendants who may come after them until the end of time, will thus follow my example, they will do what is meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these virtuous acts will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, and the officials called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of my loyal subjects, as also among the *Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhāras, Rastikas, Pitinikas*, and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaisyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of unjust imprisonment and of unjust corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening

bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the households of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, *viz.* that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

EDICT VI.

DESPATCH OF BUSINESS.

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—A long period has elapsed, during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden, and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without the utmost exertion.

EDICT VII.

FULFILMENT OF THE LAW (DHARMA).

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man, to whom even great liberality is impossible.

EDICT VIII.

TOURS OF PIETY.

A long period has elapsed, during which the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours. On such occasions the chase and other similar amusements used to be pursued. Now, when King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth in search after true knowledge. Owing to this event, religious tours have become a regular institution here in my empire. On that occasion the following happens, *viz.*, the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. It is thus that, in exchange for past pleasures, King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which these virtuous actions procure.

EDICT IX.

THE AUSPICIOUS RITE OF THE SACRED LAW (DHARMA).

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—The people perform various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters, on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such times the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, which consists in the fulfilment of the Sacred Law, produces, indeed, great results. That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar virtuous actions are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak as follows:—"This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the desired aim is attained." To the success of which auspicious rites does this refer? For every wordly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the desired object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the desired object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the desired object, both are gained; here that desired object, and endless merit is produced in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

EDICT X.

TRUE GLORY IN A FUTURE LIFE.

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires

glory and fame with the view that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this purpose King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the results for a future life. How so? It is his wish that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing of everything. But it is (most difficult) for the great.

EDICT XI.

GIFT OF THE DHARMA (LAW)—THE TRUE ALMSGIVING.

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, nor anything like the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law and the connection through the law. This law includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, and the non-destruction of living creatures. Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour, ought to give advice on this matter, saying:—'That is meritorious; this ought to be done.' He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law."

EDICT XII.

TOLERATION.

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials may

happen in various ways. But this is its root, *viz.*, guarding one's speech — how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed thinking "I promote thereby the interests of my own creed," however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint alone is commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it." For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What? "that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines." And to those who adhere to this or that faith it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what? — that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhumikas* and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, *viz.* the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

Edict XIII.

TRUE CONQUEST — THAT THROUGH THE SACRED LAW (DHARMA).

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, are found with

Superintendents of latrines or cowpens according to the two versions.

the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a zealous love for the Sacred Law, a zealous teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered there happens both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the firstborn (?) obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such men suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, but whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those unhurt ones. All this falls severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And men have faith not merely in a single creed.

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods a matter of deepest regret. Even, if a man does him an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on the inhabitants of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, if he is told that he should destroy them successively,— and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment them. Unto them it is said — what? "Let them shun doing evil, and they shall not be killed;" for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here in his empire and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred yojanas, where the King of Yonas, called Aṁtiyoka dwells, and beyond this Aṁtiyoka, where the four (4) Kings dwell, *viz.*, he called Turamaya, he called Amtikini he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara further in the south, where the Choḍas and Paṁḍas dwell as far as Tambapaṁni, likewise where the Hida-king dwells. Among the Vis'as, Vajris, Yonas, Kaṁboyas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Aṁdhras, and Pulidas — everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the Messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere — a conquest made everywhere — yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only something small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? "In order that my sons and grandsons as many as they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on the occasion of a conquest only possible by the sword, that may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a real conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next."

EDICT XIV.

PURPOSE OF THE EDICTS.

These religious edicts have been written by order of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, under a form, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write still more. Certain sentences have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose has that been done? It is with the intention that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be specially determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

— (ii) —

Pillar Edict VII.

[*Epigraphia Indica.* Vol. II. pp. 271-273.]

REVIEW OF THE KING'S MEASURES FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE LAW OF PIETY.

1. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

" Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of sacred law'! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

2. Concerning this (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

" This (thought) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (be moved) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting

growth of the sacred law? By what means may **I raise** up some among them to (grow) the growth of the sacred **law?**"

3. Concerning this (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"This (thought) came to me 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves, and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law.' For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that (even my servants) who dwell (as rulers) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the lajūkas* who dwell (as rulers) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me, 'Instruct (my) loyal people in this way and in that.'"

4. Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Having regard to this same matter, I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached (sermons on) the sacred law"

5. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (intending that) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens. I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half Kos and I have ordered rest houses to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. (But something small indeed is) this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (all) this (in order) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

*Rajjukas or officers.

6. Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Saṁgha; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigaṁthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (all) the manifold creeds. Various officials (have been appointed) for various (classes of men and purposes) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (mentioned) and with the men of all creeds."

7. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they (point out) various ways, the manifold sources of contentment both here (in Pātalīputra) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes in order (to promote) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law, and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus grow among men."

8. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will intimate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

9. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

" But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*,) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation. But among these two the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (is worked) by deep meditation. But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter; but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (orders) have been issued, (*viz.*,) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign, as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

10 Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (thus) :—

" This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

— (iii) —

Brahmagiri Edict

Date 252 B. C.

[Lewis Rice in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. XI. 93.]

By order of the Prince (Ayaputa) and the Mahāmātas at Suvaṇṇagiri (Suvarṇagiri) the Mahāmātas in Is'ila are to be wished good health, and addressed as follows :—

The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands :— For more than two years and a half that I was an upāsaka (or lay disciple) I did not exert myself strenuously. One period of six* years, or indeed more than a period of six* years since, I entered the sangha (or community of the Order), and have strenuously exerted myself; and in this time the men who were (regarded as) true in Jambu-dvīpa (have been shown to be) false, together with the gods. This indeed is the fruit of exertion. But this cannot be attained by the great only; for, if he desire, even the lowly can by exertion gain much heavenly bliss. For this purpose has this exhortation been delivered :— 'Let small and great exert themselves to this end.' My neighbours too should know this; and this exertion should be of long continuance. And (so) this purpose will grow,— it will grow exceedingly,— it will grow to at least half as much again. And this exhortation was delivered by the Vyūtha† (or the Departed) 256 (? years ago).

Thus says the Beloved of the gods :— Obedience should be rendered to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures should be enforced. Truth should be spoken. These virtues of the sacred law should be practised. So also the teacher should be honoured by the pupil, and towards relations due respect indeed should be shown. This is the ancient standard (of piety),— this conduces to long life, and this should thus be done.

Written by Pada the scribe.

* One period according to more recent readings.

† The Buddha.

CHAPTER VIII.

— (i) —

Sungas.

[When Asoka died the empire of the Mauryas passed on to feeble successors from whom Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-chief of the Maurya Brhadratha, usurped the throne. He founded a dynasty known in history as that of the Sungas. Pushyamitra had to fight against the Greeks of the Punjab, the ruler of Kalinga by name Kharavela, and the rulers of Berar. After ten successions the dynasty gave place to that of the Kanvas, a Brahman dynasty. These two together lasted a little more than a century and a half.]

[F. E. Pargiter:
The Dynasties of the Kali Age.]

Pusyamitra the commander-in-chief will uproot Brhadratha and will rule the kingdom as king 36 years. His son Agnimitra will be king 8 years. Vasujyēstha will be king 7 years. His son Vasumitra will be king 10 years. Then his son Andhraka will reign 2 years. Pulindaka will then reign 3 years. His son Ghosa will be king 3 years. Next Vajramitra will be king 9 years. Bhāgavata will be king 32 years. His son Dēvabhūmi will reign 10 years.

These 10 Sunga kings will enjoy this earth full 112 years. From them the earth will pass to the Kanvas.

— (ii) —

Kanvāyanas (Sungabhrtyas).

[F. E. Pargiter:
The Dynasties of the Kali Age.]

The minister Vāsudēva, overthrowing the dissolute king Dēvabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among

the Sungas. He, the Kānvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyana will reign 12 years. His son Sus'arman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the Sungabhrtya Kānvāyana kings. These four Kanva brahmans will enjoy the earth; for 45 years they will enjoy this earth. They will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Āndhras.

— (iii) —

Āndhras.

[From the Kanvas the empire passed on to the Andhras, a dynasty which must have been in existence at least when Pushyamitra was ruling. When actually the Andhras usurped the empire and which member of the dynasty actually did it, we do not know for certain yet. There were 30 members of this dynasty the total period of whose reigns, according to the Puranas, is 460 years.]

[F. E. Pargiter:
The Dynasties of the Kali Age.]

The Āndhra Simuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Sus'arman, will assail the Kānvāyanas and him (Sus'arman), and destroy the remains of the Sungas' power and will obtain this earth. Simuka will be king 23 years. His younger brother Krsna will next reign 10 years. His son Srī-Sātakarni will reign 10 years. Then Pūrnōtsanga will be king 18 years. Skandhastambhi will be king 18 years. Sātakarni will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years. His son Āpilaka will reign 12 years. Mēghasvāti will reign 18 years. Svāti will be king 18 years. Skandasvāti will be king 7 years. Mrgendra Svātikarna will reign 3 years. Kuntala Svātikarna will be king 8 years. Svātikarna will be king 1 year.

Pulōmavi will reign 36 years. Aristakarna will reign 25 years. Then Hāla will be king 5 years. Mantalaka will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikasēna will reign 21 years. Sundara Sātakarni will reign one year. Chakōra Sātakarni will reign 6 months. S'ivasvāti will reign 28 years. King Gautamīputra will be king next 21 years. His son Pulōma will reign 28 years. Sātakarni will be king 29 years. S'ivas'ri Pulōma will be king 7 years. His son S'ivaskandha Sātakarni will be king 3 years. Yajnas'rī Sātakarnika will reign 29 years. After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Chandas'rī Sātakarni will reign 10 years. Another of them Pulōmavi will reign 7 years.

These 30 Andhra kings will enjoy the earth 460 years.

—(iv)—

Sāgala, the City of Menander.

[These three extracts relate to a famous Greek king who ruled in N. W. India. One of the provinces of the Persian Empire, Bactria, revolted, along with another distant province Parthia, from the rule of the Greek kings of Asia, the successors of Alexander, about 250 B. C. There were two invasions of India by these Greco-Bactrian rulers and Menander (Milinda) was left to govern the Indian provinces of Bactria. Menander was contemporary with Pushyamitra and came into touch with the Chinese Empire even. He became a Buddhist through the influence of Nagasena, the Buddhist teacher. This dynasty of Bactria and India seems to have been overthrown in the invasions of the Yueh-Chi which were the cause of great unsettlement in Central Asia, and which gave India the dynasty of the Kushans of which the greatest king was Kanishka.]

[*Sacred books of the East,*
edited by Max Muller, Vol. XXXV. page 2. sec. 2.]

2. Thus hath it been handed down by tradition — There is in the country of the Yonakas a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sāgala,* situate in a delightful country well watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression, since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with its many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross roads, and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise (2) with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot-passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmans, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Kotumbara stuffs, and of other cloths of various kinds; and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazaars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. Jewels are there in plenty, such as men's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of finery display their goods in the bazaars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silverware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling

* Sialkot.

treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn and things of value in warehouses—foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttara-kuru, and in glory it is as Alakamanda, the city of the gods.

—(v)—

Menander.

[*Sacred books of the East*, edited by Max Muller, Vol. XXXV. page 6, sec. 9-10.]

The novice became the king of the city of Sagala in India, Milinda by name, learned, eloquent, wise and able; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law; the Sānkhya, Yōga, Nyāya, and Vais'ēshika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine; the four Vedas, the Purānas, and Itihāsas; astronomy, magic, causation, and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyancing in a word, the whole nineteen.

As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end.

Now one day Milinda the king proceeded forth out of the city to pass in review the innumerable host of his mighty army in its fourfold array (of elephants, cavalry, bowmen, and soldiers on foot). And when the numbering of the forces was over, the king, who was fond of wordy disputation, and eager for discussion with casuists, sophists, and gentry of that

sort, looked at the sun (to ascertain the time), and then said to his ministers: 'The day is yet young. What would be the use of getting back to town so early? Is there no learned person, whether wandering teacher or Brahman, the head of some school or order, or the master of some band of pupils (even though he profess faith in the Arahat, the Supreme Buddha), who would be able to talk with me, and resolve my doubts?'

—(vi)—

Menander (Milinda) and Nagasēna.

[*Sacred books of the East*, edited by Max Muller, Vol. XXXVI. pages 1-4.]

'Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One said:

"In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust springs up,
The state set free from home and friendship's ties,
That, and that only, is the recluse's aim."

'But on the other hand he said:

"Let therefore the wise man,
Regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men."

'Now, venerable Nagasena, if the former of these two passages was really spoken by the Tathāgata, then the second must be wrong. But if the Tathāgata, really said: "Have pleasant dwelling-places built," then the former statement must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you, have to solve.

'Both the passages you have quoted, O king, were spoken by the Tathāgata. And the former is a statement, as to the nature of things, an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it, or

to be added to it in the way of gloss, as to what is seemly and appropriate and proper for a recluse, and as to the mode of life which a recluse should adopt, the path he should walk along, and the practice he should follow. For just, O king, as a deer in the forest, wandering in the woods, sleeps wherever he desires, having no home and no dwelling-place, so also should the recluse be of opinion that

"In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust springs up."

'But when the Blessed One said:

"Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men,"

that was said with respect to two matters only. And what are those two? The gift of a dwelling-place (Vihāra) has been praised and approved, esteemed and highly spoken of, by all the Buddhas. And those who have made such a gift shall be delivered from rebirth, old age, and death. This is the first of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place. And again, if there be a common dwelling-place, (a Vihāra) the sisters of the Order will have a clearly ascertained place of rendezvous, and those who wish to visit (the brethren of the Order) will find it an easy matter to do so. Whereas if there were no homes for the members of the Order it would be difficult to visit them. This is the second of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place (a Vihāra). It was with reference to these two matters only that it was said by the Blessed One:

"Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men."

'And it does not follow from that that the sons of the Buddha should harbour longings after the household life.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

—(vii)—

Hathigumpha Inscription.

[This very important extract relates to the same period and has hitherto been but imperfectly understood. A more powerful rival of Pushyamitra than Menander was this Kalinga King, a Jain in religion and a powerful conqueror. In one of the wars he undertook against the North he claims success against the Sunga ruler. His political relationship extended to the Pāṇḍyas of the South. The inscription contains the important detail that it was cut upon the rock in the *Maurya Era* 165, in the thirteenth year of Kharavēla. There is another reference to a Nanda Conqueror 300 years before the fifth year of Kharavēla. The inscription goes far to make the relations between the Andhras and the imperial power clear.]

[*Hathi-gumpha Inscription*, Vol. III, Pt. IV. pp. 461-467, from the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, by K. P. Jayaswal, M. A.]

Salutation to the Arhats. Salutation to all the Siddhas. S'rī Khāra-vēla, Emperor of Kalinga, Alia, Mahāmēghavāhana and Mahārāja, who attained the quality of being the support of the whole land, of noble and auspicious feature-marks, the agent of prosperity of the House of King Chēta.

For fifteen years, having played princely games, with a body majestic with fair-brown (complexion), and after having thoroughly learnt royal correspondence, currency, state-accounting, municipal law and dharma injunctions, and having been accomplished in all the Vidyas (arts), ruled for nine years in the office of Yuva-rāja.

As the twenty-fourth year was complete, (he) who for the rest of his manhood made conquests which were accompanied with gifts and observance of dharma, obtains in the Third Dynasty of Kalinga (the anointing called) Mahārājya-abhishēka, for one generation. As soon as he was anointed, in his

1. First Year, (he) repairs the Kalinga Capital of which the gates, city-walls and buildings had been destroyed by storm. (He) also strengthens the embankments of (*i. e.*, those round) springs and cool lakes. (He) also gets done the restoration of all the gardens.

(He), likewise, pleases the thirty-five hundred thousand People (subjects).

2. In the Second year, disregarding Sātakarni (he) despatches a large army of horse, elephant, foot, and chariot to the Western Quarter; and in aid of the Kās'yapa Khsatriyas (he) destroys the Mūshika Capital.

3. Again in the Third year, (he) versed in the science of music (Gandharva-vēda), entertains the Capital with shows of *dampa*, dances, singing and music, and by holding festivities, and Samājas.

4. Then in the Fourth year, the Vidhyādhara-Abode which had not been damaged before, and which had been held sacred by the Former Kings of Kalinga............................

With their corōnets (makutas) devoid of their significance and with their umbrellas and *bhringāras* (golden vases) broken down and felled, the Leaders (of) all the Rāshtrikas and Bhōjakas, deprived of their ratnas, were caused by (him) to bow at his feet.

5. Then in the Fifth year, (he) brings into the capital from the Tanas'ūliya Road the Canal excavated by KING NANDA three centuries before ....

6. (In the sixth year) anointed.....................................
.... showing royal favours to all the suffering ones, (he) bestows numerous privileges — by hundreds and thousands — on (the corporate bodies) the Paura and the Jānapada.

7. Ruling in the Seventh year, ... to obtain (?) wife Savitrī (?) ....

8. In the Eighth year, the Ministers (?) .... at *Goradhagiri* * (?) .... having got

* Barabār Hill.

killed, (he) causes oppression to the King of Rājagriha who by the report of (Khāra-vēla's) offer of marching forward, was made to retire to Mathurā, leaving behind everywhere his troops and vehicles.

9. In the Ninth year .... he gives away a Kalpa-tree with leaves on, and horses, elephants and chariots with their drivers, (he gives) houses and asylums for all .... to make all those (gifts) accepted, (he) also feeds the Brahmans lavishly. Arhat ....

On both banks of the Prāchī (river) (he) builds the royal residence the '*Palace of Great Victory*' at the cost of Thirty-eight hundred thousand (coins).

10. In the Tenth Year, (he) causes the departure of the army .... to *Bhārata-varsha* (Upper India) .... once more (he) obtains his desired objects.

11. In the Eleventh year (he) leads out in procession the *nīm-wood formation* of the immortal body (*i. e.*, statue) of His Highness Kētu who (flourished) thirteen centuries before, ... which has been established by the Former Kings in the City of *Prith=udaka-darbha* and which is pleasing to the Country.

12. In the Twelfth year, producing consternation amongst the kings of the *Uttarāpathā* (Northern Punjab and Frontier Countries) with .... and causing great panic amongst the people of Magadha, (he) makes his elephants enter the Gāngeya (Palace-fort), and (he) makes the King of Magadha, BRIHASPATIMITRA bow at his feet .... (He) brings home .... of the First Jina .... (in plural) had been carried away by KING NANDA .... (and) the home ratnas as recaptures, (and) the precious things of Anga and Magadha.

(He) establishes towers .... with carved interiors, for (or 'along with') gifts and captures of hundreds of precious things. (He) causes to be brought in here unprecedented

and wonderful captures (or presents) of elephant-ships, also horses, elephants, (ratnas), men (?) .... the King of the Pāndyas .... and gems and ratnas in hundreds. .... (he) wins the heart of the residents of (the Kalinga capital ?)

13. In the Thirteenth year (he), who has fully extended his empire by conquests, ... attached to the Nishīdīya in the premises of the Habitation of the Arhats on the Kumāri Hill (Udayagiri), the ninety hundred sacred bulls, come from (?) the worshippers and maintained by the King .... kept (?) in the time of .... Jīva-deva.

On the Hill near the Arhat-Nishīdīya, for the comfort of the virtuous S'ramanas .... and to assemble together Kshatriya ascetics from hundred directions (he builds) by (employing) leaders of the guilds of excellent artizans, and various contrivances .... in stone .... (he) establishes a pavilion on four columns inlaid with beryl.

In the year Hundred and Sixty-five (lit. 'century years and five with sixty intervening') of the Time of KING MURIYA, (son of Mura or Murā, Chandra-gupta), he causes to be made this cave, of six poles, (to be) called ' Arkās'an '.

(he) is the King of Prosperity (Kshēma), the King of Extension of the Empire (or, a ' King to the old People '), a King to the Bhikshus (or, though King yet a bhikshu), the King of Dharma who has been seeing to, listening to and experiencing welfare (kalyānas) .... KING KHARA-VELA-S'RĪ, the Great Conqueror, descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, one who (has kept on) crushing empires, Wielder of Empire, one whose Empire remains protected, one whose chariot, standard and army could not be obstructed, Rebuilder (or, Reformer) of ...., one who respects every sect, one who is an expert by virtue of special qualities ....

CHAPTER IX.

Kanishka.

[This extract regarding Kanishka is taken from the record of travels of Yuwan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang). We have stated already that in the beginning of the second century B.C. a tribe of nomads called Yueh-chi broke in upon Bactria and overthrew the Greek kingdom there, having driven the Sakas before them southwards and westwards. One of the most powerful of the clans composing this people were called the Kushans. This clan laid fast hold of the territory of ancient Gandhāra and founded a dynasty of which the most distinguished member was Kanishka. Scholars have not yet come to an agreement in regard to the actual time when this ruler flourished. The date lies between 57-58 B.C. the beginning of the Samvat Era, and A. D. 78 the beginning of the Sālivahana Era so called. There are some who would take him to the 3rd century A. D. He was a great ruler and built an Indian Empire which came into touch with Parthia and Rome on the West and China in the East. Three or four successors of his are known to us by their coins which are found scattered up to Muttra in the East. He held a Buddhist Council and became the patron of Mahāyāna Buddhism.]

[The Royal Asiatic Society's
Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XIV,
on *Yuan-Chwang*. Vol. I., pp. 203-205.]

About eight or nine *li* to the south-east of the capital was a large and very ancient sacred Pipphal Tree above 100 feet high with wide-spreading foliage affording a dense shade, Under it the Four Past Buddhas had sat, and all the 996 Buddhas of the Bhadra kalpa are to sit here; the images of the four Buddhas in the sitting posture were still to be seen.

When Sakya Julai was sitting under this tree with his face to the south he said to Ānanda — "Four hundred years after my decease a sovereign will reign, by name Kanishka, who a little to the south of this will raise a tope in which he will collect many of my flesh and bone relics." To the south of the Pipphal tree was the tope erected by Kanishka. Exactly 400 years after the death of the Buddha, Kanishka became sovereign of all Jambudvīpa, but he did not believe in Karma, and he treated Buddhism with contumely. When he was out hunting in the wild country a white hare appeared; the king gave chase, and the hare suddenly disappeared at this place. Here among the trees the king discovered a cow-herd boy with a small tope three feet high he had made. "What is this you have made?" asked the king. The boy replied telling the Buddha's prophecy, and informing Kanishka that he was the king of prophecy, adding that he had come to set in motion the fulfilment of the prophecy. With this the king was greatly pleased; he straightway became a Buddhist, and proceeded to accomplish the prediction. Trusting to his own great merits, he set about building a great tope round the site of the boy's small tope, which was to be concealed and suppressed by the great tope. But as the latter rose in height the small tope always topped it by three feet. The king's tope was one and a half *li* in circuit at the base, which was 150 feet high in five stages, and the tope had reached the height of 400 feet. The boy's tope was now suppressed and the king was greatly pleased. He completed his tope by the addition of twenty five gilt copper disks in tiers, and having deposited a *ho* of relics inside, he proceeded to offer solemn worship. But the small tope appeared with one half of it outside as under the south-east corner of the great base. The king now lost patience and threw the thing up. So (the small tope) remained as it was (*i. e.* did not all come through the wall) with one half of it visible in the stone base below the second stage, and another small tope took its place at the original

site. Seeing all this the king became alarmed, as he was evidently contending with supernatural powers, so he confessed his error and made submission. These two topes were still in existence and were resorted to for cures by people afflicted with diseases. South of the stone steps on the east side of the Great Tope were two sculptured topes, one three and the other five feet high, which were miniatures of the Great Tope. There were also two images of Buddha, one four and the other six feet high, representing him seated cross-legged under the Bodhi tree. When the sun shone on them these images were of a dazzling gold colour, and in the shade their stone was of a dark violet colour. The stone had been gnawed by gold-coloured ants so as to have the appearance of carving, and the insertion of gold sand completed the images. On the south face of the ascent to the Great Tope was a painting of the Buddha sixteen feet high with two heads from one body. Our pilgrim narrates the legend connected with this very curious picture as he learned it at the place.

Above 100 paces to the south-east of the Great Tope was a white-stone standing image of Buddha eighteen feet high, facing north, which wrought miracles, and was seen by night to circumambulate the Great Tope. On either side of the latter were above 100 small topes close together. The Buddha images were adorned in the perfection of art. Strange perfumes were perceived and unusual sounds heard (at the Great Tope), and divine and human genii might be seen performing *pradakshina* (circumambulation) round it. The Buddha predicted that when this tope had been seven times burned, and seven times rebuilt, his religion would come to an end. The Records of former sages stated that the tope had already been erected and destroyed three times. When Yuan-Chwang arrived he found there had been another burning, and the work of rebuilding was still in progress.

CHAPTER X.

— (i) —

Āndhras.

[The Āndhras succeeded the Kanvas as an imperial power. The following extract from the Purānas gives the succession list of this dynasty. It is not certain whether the first name in the list is that of the successor of the Kanvas, as seems to be the case from this Puranic quotation. The Satakarnis were known in the days of Khāravela, when they must have been a subordinate power. There are various points in their history which require further elucidation. There is no doubt that they held the imperial position during the first two centuries of the Christian Era. It is some one member of this dynasty that put an end to the S'aka power in the South. The most distinguished of these being Gotamīputra S'ātakarni and his son Pulumāyi.]

[F. E. Pargiter, M. A.,
The Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 71-72.]

The Āndhra Simuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Sus'arman, will assail the Kānvāyanas and him (Sus'arman), and destroy the remains of the Sunga power and will obtain this earth. Simuka will be king 23 years. His younger brother Krsna will next reign 10 years. His son S'rī-S'ātakarni will reign 10 years. Then Pūrnōtsanga will be king 18 years. Skandhastambhi will be king 18 years. S'ātakarni will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years. His son Āpīlaka will reign 12 years. Mēghasvāti will reign 18 years. Svāti will be king 18 years. Skandasvāti will be king 7 years. Mrgēndra Svātikarna will reign 3 years. Kuntala Svātikarna will be king 8 years. Svātivarna will be king one year. Pulōmavi will

reign 36 years. Aristakarna will reign 25 years. Then Hāla will be king 5 years. Mantalaka will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikasēna will reign 21 years. Sundara S'ātakarni will reign one year. Chakōra S'ātakarni will reign 6 months. S'ivasvāti will reign 28 years. King Gautamīputra will be king next 21 years. His son Pulōma will reign 28 years. His son S'ivaskanda S'ātakarni will be king three years. Yajñas'rī S'ātakarnika will reign 29 years. After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Chandas'rī S'ātakarni will reign 10 years; another of them Pulōmavi will reign 7 years. These 30 Āndhra kings will enjoy the earth 460 years.

— (ii) —

Rudradāman.

Year 72. Junagadh rock inscription of *rājan māhakshatrapa Rudradāman.*

[This is a record of S'aka Kshatrapa (Satrap), Rudradāman. A dynasty of people foreign to India, called S'akas, migrated into India as a result of the movements among the peoples of Central Asia, set up the Hūnas (Hiung-Nu). Two families of Chiefs related to each other set up dynasties — one in the Bombay Coast and the other in the country called Surāshtra (now Gujarat). Rudradāman was the greatest ruler of the latter and ruled over Malva, Gujārat and surrounding regions. These Satraps seem to have been subordinate to the Parthians, who ruled over the Persian Empire from the middle of the second century B. C. to the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The dynasty of the Southern Kshatrapas was overthrown by the Sātavāhanas, though the Mālva branch to which Rudradāman belongs continued till it was overthrown by the Guptas.]

[*Epigraphia Indica*,
Vol. X., Appendix, pp. 99-100.]

Records the restoration of the lake Sudars'ana situated at some distance from Girinagara. The lake, originally constructed by the Vais'ya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (*rashtriya*) of the Maurya king (*rajan*) Chamdragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king (*rajan*) Tushaspha for Asoka the Maurya, had been destroyed during a storm at the date given above by the waters of the Suvarnasikata, Palāsini and other streams of mount Urjayat. The work was executed by the minister (*amātya*) Suvi's̄akha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who had been appointed by the king to rule the whole of Ānartta and Surāshtra. The inscription records besides that the king (*rajan*) *mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman, the son's son of the king (*rajan*) *mahākshatrapa Svāmi*-Chashtana, was the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, the Anupanivrit, Ānartta, Surāshtra, 'Svabhra, Maru, Kachcha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishada, etc.,; that he destroyed the Yaudhēyas; that he twice defeated Sātakarni, the lord (*pati*) of Dakshināpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him; and that he himself acquired the title of *mahākshatrapa*.

Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman.

[Professor F. Kielhorn, C. I. E.
Epigraphia Indica. Vol. VIII. pp. 45-49.]

(Be it) accomplished!

This lake SUDARSANA, from Girinagara (even a long distance?) . . . . of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length, and height constructed without gaps as they are of stone [clay], ... furnished with a natural dam, [formed by ?] . . . ., and with well-provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter, ... three sections . . . . by . . . . and other favours is (now) in an excellent condition.

This same (lake) — on the first of the dark half of Mārgas'irsha in the seventy-second—72nd year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of . . . ., (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is auspicious, ... when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean, by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikatā, Palās'ini and other streams of mount Ūrjayat the dam . . . ., though proper precautions [were taken], the water — churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter — scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart] . . . . with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open down to the bottom of the river :—

By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, [became] extremely ugly [to look at].

. . . . . . for the sake of . . . . . ordered to be made by the Vais'ya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Chandragupta; adorned with conduit for Asoka the Maurya by the Yavana King Tushāspha while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam, ...

. . . . he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate

Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battle; who [showed] compassion . . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him; who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvantī, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, S'vabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (and) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained]; who by force destroyed the Yaudhēyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him; who [obtained] victory . . . . ; who reinstates deposed kings; who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma; who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar, music, logic and other great sciences; who . . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots, (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces; who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment; who is bounteous; whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things: who . . . .

prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters:— he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to . . . . cows and Brahmans for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame, — without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection — by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length . . . . [on] all [banks] . . . . (and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (of the work), (and) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting, (the work) was carried out by the minister Suvis'ākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Anarta and Surāshtra, (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (and) not to be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

CHAPTER XI.

— (i) —

Samudragupta.

[This is the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, detailing his accomplishments as a sovereign, and his conquests. He was the second great ruler of the Gupta dynasty which emerged into importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. With the downfall of the Kushan dynasty no paramount power was left in Northern India, and the early Guptas seem to have distinguished themselves against the S'akas of Malva. They rapidly rose in importance so much so that Samudragupta could proceed on a career of conquest up to the Southern frontier of the Empire of Asoka. He signalised this achievement by the celebration of the Imperial ceremony of Rajasūya. Though the Southern expedition made no permanent additions to the Empire, the whole of Hindustan remained under the Guptas as a united empire till the dynasty was overthrown by the incursions of the White Huns. Samudragupta's father Chandragupta founded the era which goes by the name Gupta Era. This began in the year A. D. 319.]

[*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
Vol. III. The Gupta Inscriptions:
No. 1. Plate I. pp. 10–17.]

This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious.

Who, being looked at (with envy) by the faces, melancholy (through the rejection of themselves), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (of happiness), was bidden by (his) father, who exclaiming "Verily (he is) worthy", embraced (him) with the hairs of (his) body standing erect (through pleasures) (and thus) indicative of (his) sentiments, and scanned (him) with an eye turning round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature, —(to govern of a surety) the whole world:—

By whom,—having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted ACYUTA and NAGASENA ......; (by whom), causing him who was born in the family of KOTAS to be captured by (his) armies, (and) taking his pleasure at the (city) that had the name of PUSHPA, while the sun ...... the banks ...... ;

(Of whom it used to be said),—"The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (and) spreading far and wide; wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things; ...... calmness ...... ; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (all these are his), (in short) what (virtue) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect?"—

Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds; whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess; whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas*, and many other (weapons);—

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (his) glory produced by the favour shewn in

…pturing and then liberating MAHENDRA of KOSALA, VYAGHRARAJA of MAHAKANTARA, MANTARAJA of KURALA, MAHENDRA OF PISHTAPURA, SVAMIDATTA of KOTTURA on the hill, DAMANA of ERANDAPALLA, VISHNUGOPA of KANCHI (?), NILARAJA of AVAMUKTA, HASTIVARMAN of VENGI, UGRASENA of PALAKKA, KUBERA of DEVARASHTRA, DHANAMJAYA of KUSTHALAPURA, and all other kings of the region of the South;—

…ho abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradēv Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatināga, Nāgasēna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Āryāvarta; —who made all the kings of the forest countries to become (his) servants;—

Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartripura, and other (countries), and by the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras, Prarjunas, Sanakānikas, Kakas, Kharaparikas, and other (tribes);—

Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (again) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuda tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, S'akas, and Murundas, and by the people of Simhala and all (other) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world;—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (his) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed

out the fame of other kings with the soles of (his) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of the good and destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

Whose mind busied itself with the support and initiation, etc. of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who was the glorified personification of kindness to mankind; who was equal to the (gods) Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka; whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;

Who put to shame (Kas'yapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu and Nārada, and others, by (his) sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments;—who established (his) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people; whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;

Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites and the observances of mankind, (but was otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son's son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious GUPTA;—who was the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Ghatotkacha;—who was the son of the *Mahārājadhiraja*, the glorious *Chandragupta*, (and) the daughter's son of *Lichchaavi*, begotten on the *Mahādevi Kumarādevi*;

(And) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (his) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (study of) the precepts of the scriptures, travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of the (river) Gangā, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Pas'upati.

And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khadyatapakika, the son of the *Mahadandanayaka* Dhruvabhūti, the *Samdhivigrahika* and *Kumaramatya*, the *Mahadandanayaka Harishena*, who is the slave of these same feet of the *Bhattaraka*, (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the *Mahadandanayaka Tilabhattaka*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattaraka*.

—(ii)—

Chandragupta II.

[These two passages are taken from the record of travels of the Chinese Fa-Hien who was in India from A. D. 399–414, and refer to the reign of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II., Vikramāditya, the son and successor of Samudragupta. It was in his reign that the S'aka power was put an end to and the Gupta Empire extended to the Western Sea. He may be regarded as the greatest of the Guptas. It was in his reign that the Hūnas appeared dangerous to the Eastern frontier of the Persian Empire, and hung like a cloud over the North-West of India. The Gupta Empire had to struggle for existence against these nomads, and was ultimately exhausted and overthrown in the effort.]

[James Legge:
Fa-hien Travels in India and Ceylon, pp. 42 and 43.]

(*a*) All south from this is named the Middle Kingdom. In it the cold and heat are finely tempered, and there is neither hoarfrost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal

land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances (of each case). Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the *Chandalas*. That is the name for those who are (held to be) wicked men, and live apart from others. When they enter the gate of a city or a market place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them. In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries. Only the *Chandalas* are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat.

After Buddha attained to *pari-nirvana* the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vais'yas built *viharas* for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that afterwards they were handed down from king to king, without any one daring to annul them, and they remain even to the present time.

[James Legge:
Fa-hien's Travels, pp. 78 and 79.]

(*b*) In this city there had resided a great Brahman, named Radha-svāmi, a professor of the *mahayana*, of clear discernment and much wisdom, who understood everything, living by himself in spotless purity. The king of the country

honoured and reverenced him, and served him as his teacher. If he went to inquire for and greet him, the king did not presume to sit down alongside of him; and if, in his love and reverence, he took hold of his hand, as soon as he let it go, the Brahman made haste to pour water on it and wash it. He might be more than fifty years old, and all the kingdom looked up to him. By means of this one man, the Law of Buddha was widely made known, and the followers of other doctrines did not find it in their power to persecute the body of monks in any way.

By the side of the tope of ASOKA, there has been made a *mahāyāna* monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a *hīnayāna* one; the two together containing six hundred or seven hundred monks. The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them are worthy of observation.

Shamans (S′ramaṇas) of the highest virtue from all quarters, and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and the grounds of it, all resort to these monasteries. There also resides in this monastery a Brahman teacher, whose name also is *Manjus′rī*, whom the Shamans of greatest virtue in the kingdom, and the *mahāyāna* Bhikshus honour and look up to.

The cities and towns of this country are the greatest of all in the Middle Kingdom. The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car, and on it erect a structure of five storeys by means of bamboos tied together. This is supported by a king-post, with poles and lances slanting from it, and is rather more than twenty cubits high, having the shape of a tope. White and silk-like cloth of hair is wrapped all round it, which is then painted in various colours. They make figures of dēvas with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli grandly blended and having silken streamers and canopies hung out over them. On the four sides are niches, with a Buddha

seated in each, and a Bōdhisattva standing in attendance on him. There may be twenty cars, all grand and imposing, but each one different from the others. On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the borders all come together; they have singers and skilful musicians; they pay their devotions with flowers and incense. The Brahmans come and invite the Buddhas to enter the city. These do so in order and remain two nights in it. All through the night they keep lamps burning, have skilful music, and present offerings. This is the practice in all the other kingdoms as well. The Heads of the Vais′ya families in them establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves.

— (iii) —

Kumāragupta.

[This is an inscription of the time of Kumāragupta, Chandragupta's son. It was in his time that the Hun trouble became serious to India though it actually broke in in the reign of his successor. The empire was actually on the brink of subversion by another enemy, the Pushyamitras, as they are called; but the calamity was averted by the exertions of the Crown Prince Skandagupta.]

[*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
The Gupta Inscriptions, No. 10, Plate V, pp. 44-45.]

In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Kumāragupta,

Who is the son, begotten on the *Mahādevi Dhruvadēvi*, of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (II), who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and)

Who was the son, begotten on the *Mahādevi Dattādevi*, of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Samudragupta,

Who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters (of the four oceans); who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kritānta; who was the giver of (many) millions of (lawfully acquired cows and) gold; who was the restorer of the *asva mēdha* sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (and)

(Who was the son of the son's son of *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Gupta; — the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Ghatotkacha); — (and) the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Chandragupta (I), and the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumarādēvi;

On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.), at this temple of the divine (god) Svāmi-Mahāsēna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accumulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmanya; (and) who resides at...this great work has been accomplished by Dhruvas'arman, who follows the path of the customs of the Krita age, and of the true religion, (and) who is honoured by the assembly......

Having made a gateway, charming, (and) ...... the abode of saints, (and) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (and) resembling a (pearl) neck-lace of the kind called *Kubērachchhanda*, (and) white with radiance of pieces of crystalline gems; — (and having made), in a very proper manner, a (religious) almshouse (?) the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple; — he, the virtuous-minded one,

roams in a charming manner along the items of religious merit (that he has thus accumulated). May the venerable S'arman endure for a long time!

This lofty pillar, firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same Dhruvas'arman, whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar......on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (and) by whom .... by means of the — abundance of (his) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

— (iv) —

Vishṇugopa.

[This extract relates to a dynasty of rulers called Pallavas who became famous in history as the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Prince who actually issued the grant does not belong to Kanchi and refers himself to the reign of one Simhavarman, and the grant itself was issued in his 11th year. This may or may not be the Vishṇugopa of Kanchi referred to in the Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. He could not, however, have been far removed either way in point of time.]

[J. F. Fleet,
Indian Antiquary, Vol. V. pp. 52-53. Edited by
Jas. Burgess, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.]

Victory has been achieved by the holy one! From the glorious and victorious locality of Palakkada, at the command of S'rī-Vīshṇugōpavarma, the pious Yuvamahārāja of the Pallavas, who are the receptacles of the royal glory of other kings that have been overcome by their valour, and who have prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according to the proper rites,—of him who is the great-grandson of the Great King S'rī-Skandavarma, who was an excellent worshipper of the supreme spirit, who acquired by strength of his arm

a great abundance of the penances peculiar to those who belong to the caste of warriors, who conformed to all such injunctions as are prescribed, who was firm in steadiness of conduct, and who was broad-minded; of him who is the grandson of the Great King S'rī-Vīravarma, the bravest man upon the surface of the earth, who was endowed with honoured power and success, and who subjugated by his prowess the assemblage of kings; of him who is the son of the Great King S'rī-Skandavarma, who nourished the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors and old men, who was of great affability, who acquired much piety by many gifts of cows and gold and land and other things, who was skilful in protecting his subjects, who was the fifth Lōkapāla of the Lōkapālas, who was true-hearted, and who was high-minded; of him who is possessed of all prosperity produced by his devotion towards the holy one and by his goodness; who is always initiated into the charitable vows of the occupation of pleasing and protecting his subjects; who is possessed of the radiance of the fame of his victories acquired by impetuous assaults in many battles; who is always zealous in supporting religion which had been brought to death's door by the sins of the Kali age; who is desirous of surpassing all the collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints; who is desirous of surpassing religon itself; who meditates on the feet of the holy one; who is the disciple at the feet of the venerable great king Bappa; who is an excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhāradvāja, those who dwell in the village of Uruvupalli, in the country of Muṇḍa, are to be addressed:—

In this village there are two hundred entire NIVARTANAS. The limits of those NIVARTANAS are:—On the west, the boundaries of the village of Kendukūra are the limit; on the south, the river Suprayōga is the limit; on the east, (the same) is the limit; to the north by south of the east, there is a rock on the side of the great road; proceeding thence

to the north, there is a tamarind tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Kurupura and to the village of Kandukūra; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivated field of the Brahmans in the village of Karupūra; on the north, the limit is a large tamarind-tree surrounded by a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the edge of the boundaries of the village of Kondamuruvudu. Having made those same two hundred NIVAṚTANAS of area which is in the centre of these four boundary-limits a possession of the gods at Kandukūra for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by the general VISHṆUVAṚMA it has been given by us, invested with immunity from taxation by the eighteen castes, and to be increased by us as long as our life may last and according to our strength. Bearing this in mind, let all the functionaries and all in authority in that district, and the favourites of the king, and travellers, treat the same area with immunity from all taxation, and cause it to be treated in the same way by others. But any wicked man who transgresses against this our charter is deserving of corporal punishment. Moreover, are there not verses (as to this)? There has not been and there shall not be any gift better than a grant of land; verily there has not been and there shall not be any sin greater than the sin of confiscating such a grant! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! This copper-plate is given by me in the eleventh of the victorious years of the Great King Simhavarma, in the month of Paushya, in the dark fortnight, and on the tenth lunar day.

CHAPTER XII.

— (i) —

Mihirakula.

[This extract from the Rājatarangiṇi of the Kashmir historian Kalhaṇa recounts the deeds of Mihirakula, the Hun, who succeeded his father Toramāṇa as ruler of Western Hindustan. It was the invasion of the Huns that destroyed the Gupta Empire. We know but little of Toramāṇa, but Mihirakula has been handed down to history as a ruler of fiendish cruelty. Kalhaṇa's account, though misplaced in point of time, and though it credits Mihirakula with an invasion of Ceylon, which was in all probability an invasion of Sindh, is substantially a correct account of this Hun ruler. Mihirakula's period of active rule must have been in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. The statement of Hieun-Tsang in the extract following, that he lived centuries before is apparently erroneous.]

[Dr. Fleet's Version of the Extract in *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. S'lokas, 291-329 of Book I. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 247-49.]

After Hiraṇyāksha (line 289), there came his son Hiraṇyakula, who reigned for sixty years (l. 290) and after him, his son MUKULA, who reigned for the same period. And then, when the country was overrun by a MLĒCHCHHA tribe, there came his son Mihirakula, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kāla or Death (in destructiveness) (l. 291); in whom the northern region possessed another Antaka or Death, thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is Antaka (l. 292); whose approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, etc., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain by his troops (l. 293); who was a very ghoul of a king; surrounded day and night

had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also (ll. 314–315). There are some people who consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gift of Agrahāras, and similar deeds. And, even when the country was overrun by the Darada priests, Mlechchhas by birth, of impure rites, and all (the national) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of the Aryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand Agraharas at Vijayes'vara on Brahmans born in the Gāndhāra country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and bows, and thus atoned for all his cruelty (ll. 316-321).—Others, however, say that he acted as he did in order to destroy the Khasas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nāga (l. 322). As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was descending into the river Chandrakulya, his way was blocked by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed penance, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yakshas dwelt in the rock, performing the austerities of a Brahman, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he declared his dream, and had it put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravatī, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons (ll. 323-328). In short, he behaved altogether in such a way, that it was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do such things, that

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prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him (l. 329). When at length he was destroyed, a certain son of his, named VAKA (l. 334) of good behaviour, was anointed king by the people. He, though born from one who had grievously afflicted them, gave them happiness; and then religion returned, as if from the other world, and security came back, as if from exile in the depths of the forests (ll. 330-333).

—(ii)—

Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya of Magadha.

[This extract from the Records of travel of Hiuen-Tsang gives an account of an incident in the life of Mihirakula which is taken to bring into contemporariety with a Gupta ruler Narasimhavarman-Bālāditya of Magadha. In regard to the details given of what took place there is no agreement among scholars as yet; nor as to the connection, if any, between the achievements of Bālāditya and Yas'odharman. So much however is certain that Mihirakula ruled over the Western half of the Gupta Empire from which he was turned out, A. D. 533. Somewhere about the time the Hun power came to an end in India. The credit of this certainly belongs to Yas'odharman but what part of it, if any, should go to Bālāditya remains to be fixed.]

[S. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 166-172.]

Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mihirakula), who established his authority in this town ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent should wait on him. Now it happened

prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him (I. 329). When at length he was destroyed, a certain son of his, named VAKA (I. 334) of good behaviour, was anointed king by the people. He, though born from one who had grievously afflicted them, gave them happiness; and then religion returned, as if from the other world, and security came back, as if from exile in the depths of the forests (II. 330–333).

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Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mihirakula), who established his authority in this town ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent should wait on him. Now it happened

I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services. I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverence. Therefore I hide my face with my mantle." The mother of the king said, "Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events (things), you are lost; but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

Mihirākula thanking her, said, "I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment; for this reason I have lost my kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety." Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said, "My son is well-favoured; he will die after his years are accomplished." Then she said to Bāladitya, "In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mihirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north."

Then Bāladitya-raja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mihirakula-raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal

I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services. I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverence. Therefore I hide my face with my mantle." The mother of the king said, " Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events (things), you are lost; but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

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Then Bâlâditya-raja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mihirakula-raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal

estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum.. The king of Kashmir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gândhâra. He set some soldiers in ambush and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the stûpas, destroyed the sangharâmas, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations. Besides those whom his soldiers had killed there were nine hundred thousand whom he was about to destroy without leaving one. At this time all the ministers addressed him and said, " Great king! your prowess has gained a great victory, and our soldiers are no longer engaged in conflict. Now that you have punished the chief, why would you charge the poor people with fault? Let us, insignificant as we are, die in their stead."

The king said, " You believe in the law of Buddha and greatly reverence the mysterious law of merit. Your aim is to arrive at the condition of Buddha, and then you will declare fully, under the form of Jâtakas, my evil deeds, for the good of future generations. Now go back to your estates, and say no more on the subject."

Then he slew three ten myriads of the people of the first rank by the side of the Sin-tu river; the same number of the middle rank he drowned in the river, and the same number of the third rank he divided among his soldiers (as slaves). Then he took the wealth of the country he had destroyed, assembled his troops and returned. But before the year was out he died. At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and thick darkness; the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, " For having killed

of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads:—

He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the God) Sthāṇu; — he, through the embraces of whose arms (HIMĀLAYA) the mountain of snow carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;— he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king MIHIRAKULA, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance:—

By him, the king, the glorious YAS'ŌDHARMAN, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,— as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (and) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions; (this column) which shines refulgent, as it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of YAS'ŌDHARMAN, to the effect that,— " His birth (is) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (in any way) by him."

From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gōvinda.

HINDU INDIA

FROM

ORIGINAL SOURCES

PART II

HINDU INDIA

FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES.

CHAPTER XIII.

—(i)—

Harshavardhana.

[The two extracts given in this chapter relate to the great Emperor of Hindu India — Harsha. The inscription is dated in his 25th year which is A. D. 631-2. He is there represented as a worshipper of Mahēs'vara and the grant was made to the Brahmans. Hiuen-Tsang's account, relating to a later period, refers to him as an ardent Buddhist who exerted himself in the cause of Buddhism. The short dynasty of two generations, though 6 are given, appear to have come into prominence after the Gupta dynasty — the Eastern branch of which had become practically extinct. They advanced into importance in the successful struggle against the Huns. Harsha ruled for about 40 years the empire of Hindustan, his advance in the south having been effectively checked by Pulikēsin, the Chālukya contemporary of his. He seems to have begun as a S'aiva personally but with impartial patronage to all forms of Hindu worship. His father is given credit for having restored the different orders and castes composing Hindu Society. With Harsha's death the empire broke up, only to revive for another two or three generations under the Gūrjaras.]

[Grant of Harshavardhana. Translation, pp. 73-75,
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I.]

Om Hail! From the great camp of victory (containing) boats, elephants and horses, from PINTHIKĀ :— the great king, the illustrious NARAVARDHANA; his son who

meditated on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious queen VAJRINĪ, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious RĀJYAVARDHANA. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious queen APSARAS, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious ĀDITYAVARDHANA. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious queen MAHĀSĒNAGUPTĀ, he whose fame passed beyond the four oceans, he whose sovereign power was employed in setting (the system of) castes and orders, who like (the deity) with the single-wheeled chariot removed the torments of his subjects, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious PRABHĀKARAVARDHANA. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he) who overspread the circle of the whole world with the canopy of his brilliant fame; who completely appropriated the lustre of the guardians of the world, Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and so forth; who gladdened the hearts of needy men by gifts of many excellent (pieces of) land gained in a righteous manner; who was born from the illustrious queen possessing spotless fame, the illustrious YAS'OMATĪ,—a most devout worshipper of the Sugata, who like Sugata solely found pleasure in doing good to others, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious RĀJYAVARDHANA; 'BY whom, plying his whip in battle, the kings DĒVAGUPTA and others — who resembled wicked horses — were all subdued with averted faces; who, after uprooting his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise gave up his life in the mansion of his foe.' His younger brother who meditates on his (elder brother's) feet, a most devout worshipper of MAHĒS'VARA, who like Mahes'vara is compassionate to all created beings, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious HARSHA,

addresses (this) order to the great feudal barons, the great kings, DAUSSĀDHASĀDHANIKAS, PRAMĀTRIS, viceroys, princes, ministers, UPARIKAS, rulers of the districts, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, as well as to the provincials of the neighbourhood, assembled in the village of SOMAKUNDIKA which belongs to the district (VISHAYA) of KUNḌADHĀNI in the *bhukti* of S'rāvasti:

"Be it known to you that, having considered that this village of SOMAKUNDIKA has been enjoyed by the Brahman VĀMARATHYA on the strength of a forged edict, having therefore broken the edict and having taken (the village) from him, I have granted it, up to its boundaries, together with the *udranga*, together with (the right to) all the income which ought to accrue to the house of the king, endowed with all immunities . . . . (with the right of) inheritance by sons and grandsons, (for a period) lasting as long as moon, sun and earth (endure), according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage, for the increase of the merit and fame of (my) father, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious PRABHĀKARAVARDHANA, of (my) mother, the supreme lady and great queen, Her Majesty the illustrious queen YAS'OMATĪ, and of the feet of (my) elder brother, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious RĀJYAVARDHANA,—to Bhatta VATASVĀMIN, a member of the SĀVARNI GOTRA, and a fellow-student of the *Chhandōgas* (a Sāmavēdi) and to Bhatta S'IVADĒVASVĀMIN, a member of the VISHNUVRIDDHA gotra and a fellow-student of the *Bahvrichas* (a Rigvēdi), as a duly accepted *agrahāra*. Knowing this you should agree (to it), and the provincials of the neighbourhood being obedient to (my) command should bring to these two (donees) alone the due income, which is to be given according to weight and according to measure, (*viz.*) the share (of the crops), the (objects of) enjoyment, the taxes, the gold and so forth, and they should do them service."

Moreover, " By those who profess (to belong to) the noble line of our race and by others this gift ought to be agreed to. Gifts and the protection of the fame of others (are) the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water-bubble." " With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. HARSHA has declared that an unsurpassable (mode of) acquiring spiritual merit."

The messenger (charged with the order) concerning this (grant is) the great feudal baron, the great king SKANDA-GUPTA; and (the edict) has been incised by GURJARA at the command of the great chief of the office of records, the feudal baron, the great king ĪS'VARAGUPTA, [SRI-HARSHA—] SAMVAT 25 Mārgas'īrsha, dark half, the sixth (lunar day).

— (ii) —

[Oriental Translation Fund. New series, Vol. XIV, on *Yuan Chwang*, I. pp. 343-344.]

The sovereign was of the Vais'ya caste, his personal name was Harshavardhana, and he was the younger son of the great king whose name was Prabhākaravardhana. When the latter died he was succeeded on the throne by his elder son named Rāja(Rājya)vardhana. The latter soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by S'as'angka, the wicked king of Karnasvarna in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism. Hereupon the statesman of Kanauj, on the advice of their leading man Bani (or Vani), invited Harshavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. The prince modestly made excuses, and seemed unwilling to comply with their request.

When the ministers of state pressed Harshavardhana to succeed his brother and avenge his murder, the narrative goes on to relate, the prince determined to take the advice of the

Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēs'vara (whose name is here given correctly in translation *Kuan-tzu-tsai*, the " Beholding Lord "). An image of this Bōdhisattva, which had made many spiritual manifestations, stood in a grove of this district near the Ganges. To this he repaired; and after due fasting and prayer, he stated his case to the Bōdhisattva. An answer was graciously given which told the prince that it was his good *karma* to become king, and that he should, accordingly, accept the offered sovereignty and then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karnasvarna, and afterwards make himself a great kingdom. The Bōdhisattva promised him secret help, but warned him not to occupy the actual throne, and not to use the title Mahārāja. Thereupon Harshavardhana became king of Kanauj with the title Rājaputra and the style S'īlāditya.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim goes on to state that as soon as S'īlāditya became ruler he got together a great army, and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance; and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had *fought* the Five Indias (reading 'chu'). According to the other reading 'ch'en', had *brought* the Five Indias under allegiance. Then having enlarged his territory he increased the army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry to 100,000 and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. He was just in his administration, and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the Five Indias, and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties. He erected thousands of topes on the banks of the Ganges, established Travellers' Rests through all his dominions, and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists. He regularly held the Quinquennial Convocation; and gave

away in religious alms everything except the material of war. Once a year he summoned all the Buddhist monks together, and for twenty one days supplied them with the regulation requisites. He furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. He brought the brethren together for examination and discussion, giving rewards and punishments according to merit and demerit. Those Brethren who kept the rules of their Order strictly and were thoroughly sound in theory and practice he "advanced to the Lion's Throne" (that is, promoted to the highest place) and from these he received religious instruction; those who, though perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code, were not learned in the past he merely honoured with formal reverence; those who neglected the ceremonial observances of the Order, and whose immoral conduct was notorious, were banished from his presence, and from the country. The neighbouring princes, and the statesmen, who were zealous in good works, and unwearied in the search for normal excellence, he led to his own seat, and called "good friends", and he would not converse with those who were of a different character. The king also made visits of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn, and he did not go abroad during the three months of the Rain-season Retreat. At the royal lodges every day viands were provided for 1000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins. The king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable, and the day was too short for him.

— (iii) —

Kumāra, Bhāskaravarma.

[This extract has reference to the kingdom of Assam which had remained outside the pale of Buddhism all along. Kumāra Bhāskaravarma, its king, was a man of learning and accomplishments and had great respect for learned men whatever their religion. He was an ally of the Emperor whose Quinquennial assembly he attended by invitation of Harsha. The extract further explains the knowledge of China that the Indians had, and the relations between the Buddhists and Brahmanical Hindus generally.]

[Oriental Translation Fund. New Series. Vol. XIV. *Yuan Chwang*, pp. 348-349.]

The pilgrim, we learn from these texts, was on his way back to China, and had gone again to the great monastery of Nālanda in Magadha. Here he wished to remain for some time continuing his studies in Buddhist philosophy which had been begun there some years before. But Bhāskaravarma, styled Kumāra, the king of Kāmarūpa (that is, Assam) had heard of him and longed to see him. So he sent messengers to Nālanda to invite and urge the pilgrim to pay him a visit. Yuan-chuang at first declined and pleaded his duty to China, but his old Buddhist teacher S'īlabhadra convinced him that it was also his duty to go to Kāmarūpa on the invitation of its king who was not a Buddhist. The pilgrim at length yielded, travelled to that country, and was received by the king with great honour. In the course of a conversation His Majesty said to Yuan-chuang—" At present in various states of India a song has been heard for some time called the 'Musics of the conquests of Ch'in (Tsin) wang' of Mahachīna; this refers to your Reverence's native country I presume." The pilgrim replied—" Yes, this song praises my sovereign's excellences."

At this time king S'īlāditya was in a district the name of which is transcribed in our Chinese texts in several ways. Julien calls it " Kadjoughira " (and Cunningham identifies it with the modern Kankjol). He had been on an expedition to a country called Kung-yu-ta, and was on his way back to Kanauj to hold a great Buddhist assembly there. Hearing

of the arrival there of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of King Kumāra he sent a summons to the latter to repair to him with his foreign guest. Kumāra replied with a refusal, saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. "I trouble you for your head", came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumāra became submissive, and proceeded with the pilgrim and a grand retinue to join S'īlāditya.

When this sovereign met Yuan-chuang, our text here relates, having made a polite apology to the pilgrim (literally, having said—I have fatigued you) he made enquiry as to Yuan-chuang's native land, and the object of his travelling. Yuan-chuang answered that he was a native of the great T'ang country, and that he was travelling to learn Buddhism. The king then asked about this great T'ang country, in what direction it lay, and how far it was distant. Yuan-chuang replied that his country was the Mahāchīna of the Indians and that it was situated some myriads of li to the north-east of India. The king then relates how he had heard of the *Ch'in* (*Tsin*)-*wang-T'ien-tzu*, *i. e.*, the Dēvaputra Prince Ch'in, of Mahāchīna, who had brought that country out of anarchy and ruin into order and prosperity, and made it supreme over distant regions to which his good influences extended. All his subjects, the king continues, having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler, sing the "song of *Ch'in-wang's* conquests" and this fine song has long been known here. The king then asks the pilgrim whether this were all true, and whether this Great T'ang country was the country of the song.

In reply the pilgrim states that *Chi-na*, that is, Chin, was the designation of a former dynasty in his native land, and that Ta T'ang denoted the present dynasty; that the sovereign then reigning, T'ai Tsung, had been styled Ch'inwang before he came to the throne, the title Emperor (T'ientzu) having been given to him on his accession. He then adds a compendious description of Ch'in-wang as Prince and Emperor.

CHAPTER XIV

Pulikēsin II.

[This inscription of A. D. 634 gives a full account of the greatest of the West Chālukya King Pulikēs'in II. This was a period when three great kings ruled over the three well marked divisions of India: Emperor Harsha in Hindustan; Pulikēs'in II who set a term to the expansion of the empire of Harsha, in the Dekhan, and the great Pallava Narasimha in the South. Harsha lays claim to having overrun the Pallava dominions, but it was the Pallava Narasimha that put an end to the Chālukya power, though temporarily, eight years after the date of the inscription. From Hiuen-Tsang's account of this king, we gather that it was in a condition of prosperity under a well ordered administration.]

[The Aiholē Inscription of Pulikēsin II.
Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI. p. 4.]

Victorious is the holy Jinēndra—he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island.

And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the Chālukya family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth.

And victorious for very long is Satyās'raya, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondency of number.

When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of 'Favourite of the Earth' had at least become appropriate, had passed away,—

There was, of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasimha-vallabha, who in battle—where horses, foot soldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and the flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro,—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.

His son was he who was named Ranaräga, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (even) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.

His son was Pulikesin, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of Vätäpīpuri.

Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life, the kings on earth even now are unable to follow; and bathed by whom with the water of the purifactory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness.

His son was Kīrtivarman, the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from other's wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad kadamba trees — the Kadambas.

When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods, his younger brother Mangalēsa became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters.

Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel; the Fortune of the Katachchūris, having scattered the gathering gloom, (*viz.*) the army of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (*viz.*) the swords (of his followers).

And again, when he was desirous of taking the island of Rēvati, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuna's forces, quickly come there at once at his word (of command).

When his elder brother's son, named Pulikesin, of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune, and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile.

That Mangalēs'a, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him, abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.

Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of his irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind?

When, having found the opportunity, he who was named Appāyika, and Govinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

When he was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle has the rows of hamsa birds that sport on the high waves of the Varada as their play-place, and which by its wealth, rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.

In the Konkanas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools — the Mauryas.

When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, he besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.

Subdued by his splendour, the Latas, Mālavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.

Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of the hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through him had his mirth (Harsha) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.

While he was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the Rēva, shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains.

Almost equal to Indra, he by means of all three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāshtrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of the other rulers of the earth, the Kalingas with the Kōsalas by his army were made to evince signs of fear.

Hard pressed (pishta) by him, Pishtāpura became a fortress not difficult of access ; wonderful (to relate), the ways of the Kali age to him were quite inaccessible !

Ravaged by him, the water of Kunāla coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening twilight has risen.

With his sixfold forces, the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness, and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kānchīpura.

When straightway he strove to conquer the Cholas, the Kāvēri, who had the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.

There he caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Kēralas and Pāndyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoarfrost — the army of the Pallavas.

While, he Satyās'raya, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,—having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and Brahmans, having entered the city of Vātāpi — is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat.

(Now) when thirty (and) three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundreds years, have passed since the Bhārata war ;

And when fifty (and) six and five hundred years of the S'aka kings also have gone by in the Kali age ;

This stone mansion of Jinēndra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikīrti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyās'raya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans.

Of this eulogy and this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three worlds, I, the wise Ravikīrti himself, am the author and also the founder.

May that Ravikīrti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi!

CHAPTER XV.

Nandivarman.

[This is one of the few copper-plate grants that have come down to us of the last great Pallava, Nandivarman — Nandi and those that preceded him for six generations belonged to a new dynasty of the Pallavas founded by Simhavishṇu. They were Brahmanical in their culture and civilization, and appear to have moved southwards from the North. They had to maintain a continuous war against the Chalukyas in the North, and the Tamil kings in the South. The Pallavas maintained themselves on the whole with success. Nandivarman seems to have been a usurper and founded a dynasty of his own which is sometimes referred to as the Ganga-Pallava. Nandi had to submit to Dantidurga, the Rashṭrakuṭa, and enter into a treaty with him, perhaps cemented by a marriage with the Rashṭrakuṭa's daughter. Four generations of rulers are known after Nandi, when the dynasty was overthrown by the rising dynasty of the Cholas.

[Kas'ākuḍi Plates of Nandivarman.
South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Part III. pp. 353-361.]

Hail! Victorious is the supreme Brahman, which is the cause of the production, stability and destruction of the three worlds; which is true, without end (and) without beginning; which consists of knowledge (alone); which is one; (and) which is the abode of immortality!

May that blessed Trivikrama (Vishṇu) grant you prosperity, who, at the sacrifice of Bali, deceitfully asked (only) for three steps (of land), but suddenly expanded (and) strode thrice, (thereby) appropriating the world!

May Hara (S'iva), the destroyer of Pura, increase your happiness, who bears the moon on his crest, who wears a serpent on his shoulder, who holds Bhavānī on his left, who bears affection to his worshipper, who bears Gangā on his head, who wears ashes on his body, who bears poison on his neck, who wears a braid in his hair, (and) who holds a spear in his hand!

May Trivikrama and Hara protect you, whose distinct (but) united bodies (respectively) bear on the neck the supreme splendour of two ornaments,— the kaustubha (jewel) and the black (poison), hold a discus and a spear for the destruction of the Daityas, are of black and white colour, (and) thrill with joy at the expansion (of the eyes) of S'rī and Gaurī, (which emit) coquettish glances (resembling) arrows!

May Padmā (Lakshmī) regard you with fondness, who is seated on a lotus; whose pair of lotus hands is resplendent with a lotus; (and) whose excellent bath (is poured from) golden jars which are held by the trunks of (two) female elephants!

May that blessed Āryā (Pārvatī), the sister of Vishṇu, instantly remove dire adversity,— whom Cupid does not approach, out of fear it seems, because he has observed the (third) eye on (her) forehead (and therefore takes her) for Īs'vara!

May Vināyaka (Ganēs'a) grant you freedom from obstacles, who is as white as the Kailāsa (mountain), whose girdle consists of a huge serpent, who has the face of an elephant, whose ears are large, who has a single big tusk, (and) whose eyes are (half closed as if he were) under the influence of rut!

May the race of the glorious Pallavas be protected for a long time by the supreme lords, those two fold gods whom (they, *viz.*, the Pallavas) have worshipped with austerities, (and) the gods on earth who are engaged in the six duties, whose blessings are true, (and) who practise self-control!

The earth surrounded by the rolling ocean is conquered by the lord of men, who is the son of Hiraṇya (and) the lord of prosperity, whose crest is the bull, (and) the elephants of whose army ward off enemies!

Hail! Adoration to S'rī! First, from the lotus which rose from the navel of Vishṇu, was born the Creator, whose origin is the (supreme) Brahman; who is self-existent; who fully knows the meaning of the sacred texts; (and) who has performed the creation of the whole world.

From him was born at the sacrifice a son of the mind alone, ANGIRAS, who fully carried out his promises; who was more brilliant than fire; who, being sinless, put an end to sin; who, being the chief of seers, obtained a place among the seven seers, who reached (the highest degree of) austerities that can be desired; (and) who was the best axe for cutting the tree of ignorance.

From this Angiras (came Brihaspati), who was an ocean of speeches (and) the father of politics; whom (Indra) the lord of the gods (and) elder brother of Tridhāman (Vishṇu), made his preceptor (Guru); (and) relying on the power of whose intellect, the celestial women enjoy at ease amorous pleasures, without thinking of the rising and setting of the sun.

From him was born the fortunate (and) modest S'amyu, who destroyed sin (and) resembled the sun in brilliancy. When fire had disappeared, (he) became the fire of the gods and performed even the action of fire through his own power.

His son was a sage called BHARADVĀJA, who became the founder of the race (gotra) of the glorious PALLAVAS by the power of (his) virtues, (and) who mastered the three Vedas, which resemble mountains, by (his) austerities.

From him came DRŌṆA, the preceptor of the KURUS, who was produced from (Bharadvāja) in a pitcher called DRŌṆA; whose victorious banner was an altar painted on the skin of a black-buck; (and) who completely mastered (the four branches of) the science of archery, which resemble the four oceans.

From him came the sage AS'VATTHAMAN, who was an incarnation of (S'IVA) the enemy of Cupid (Kama); who deserved the confidence of the inhabitants of the world (and) at the rising of whose anger, Krishna, Arjuna and Bhīma became terrified (and) threw down (their) weapons without any opposition.

The glorious PALLAVA, (during whose rule) the earth was untouched (even) by the smallest calamity, was suddenly born to him on a litter of sprouts (pallava) by (the nymph) Mēnakā, that had been sent to him by S'akra (Indra), who was afraid of (losing) his position (on account of the sage's austerities).

Though born from a race of Brāhmanas, he possessed in the highest degree the valour of the Kshatriyas, which was inherent in him. Does not the thunderbolt possess by nature the quality of burning, though it springs from the cloud?

From him was produced AS'OKAVARMAN, who removed the distress of suppliant kings, (but) who distressed those who faced (him) in battle, (and) who, though bright as the moon, possessed a spotless fame (while the moon has a spot).

From him descended the powerful, spotless race of the PALLAVAS, which resembled a partial incarnation of Vishnu, as it displayed unbroken courage in conquering the circle of the world with all its parts, (and) as it enforced the special rules of all castes and orders, and which resembled the descent [of] the Gangā (on earth), as it purified the whole world.

[The] (the kings) who sprang from this (race) possessed power [that] was everywhere irresistible, large armies, pure descent, birth from a lotus (and) great piety, (and therefore) resembled Kumāra, whose spear is everywhere irresistible, (who is also called) Mahāsēna, who is the son of fire, who invented (the array of the army in the form of) a lotus, (and who is also called) Subrahmanya. The great fierceness, that resembled fire, of the power of their arms dried up, like the water of the ocean, the irresistible valour of all enemies. The spreading moonshine of their spotless fame removed the impurity of all the sins of the Kali age. Their extremely noble conduct and constant prosperity increased the affection of the crowd of their friends. The beauty of their forms became the snare, in which, like deer, the hearts of young women (were caught). Their fame like the fragrance of a sandal tree, was pervading the southern region. The shadow of their (royal parasol) could not be crossed by the power of other (kings), just as the beauty of the celestial trees cannot be surpassed by the splendour of other (trees.) They were full of splendour and kind to others, (and therefore) resembled the sun whose rays are beneficial to men. They experienced an increase (āgama) of the affection (pratyaya) of (their) subjects (prakriti), and possessed blameless riches (vriddhi) and virtues (guṇa), (and therefore) resembled the science of grammar, in which crude forms (prakriti), affixes (pratiyaya) and augments (āgama) are treated, (but) in which the rules on guṇa and vriddhi are (not) without exceptions (apavāda). They gave delight (nandana) but were without enemies (apa-ari-jāta); while the Nandana (garden) contains the *pārijāta* (tree). Though full of learning (ghanāgama), they were not dull (jaḍa); while the rainy season (ghanāgama) brings water (jala). As Indra the heaven, (these) lords of the earth enjoyed the whole earth, which is bounded by the Chakravāḷa mountain (and) adorned by the seven continents and seven oceans.

Among these have passed away in bygone times (S)kandavarman, KAL(I)NDAVARMAN, KĀṆAGŌPA, VISHṆUGŌPA, VĪRAKŪI(R)CHA, VĪRASIMHA, SIMHAVARMAN, VISHṆUSIMHA and other kings, who won great battles by (a knowledge of) the science of all weapons, whose valour was immeasurable, who has received by inheritance (the practice of) meritorious acts, who destroyed (the sins of) the Kali (age), whose minds were learned, whose bodies bore auspicious marks, who preserved (their)

fame (free from blemishes), whose shoulders were firm to bear the whole earth, who were (evil) comets to (their) enemies, who conferred honours on (their) friends, (and) who were the barriers of all good conduct.

Thereafter came SIMHA (VISNU), the lion of the earth (Avanisimha), who was engaged in the destruction of enemies, (and) who vanquished the MALAYA, KALABHRA, MĀLAVA, CHOLA and PĀNDYA (kings), the Simhala (king) who was proud of the strength of his arms, and the KĒRALAS.

Then the earth was ruled by a king called MAHĒNDRAVARMAN, whose glory resembled that of Mahēndra, whose commands were respected (by all), (and) who annihilated (his) chief enemies at PULLALŪRA.

From him was born the victorious hero NARASIMHAVARMAN, who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rama by (his) conquest of LANKA, who was a comet (that foreboded) destruction to the crowd of proud enemies, (and) who imitated the pitcher-born (Agastya) by (his) conquest of VĀTĀPI.

From him was born MAHĒNDRAVARMAN, whose long arms were fierce thunderbolts to the crowd of enemies, (and) beginning with whom, meritorious acts for the benefit of temples and Brāhmanas and (the use of) the vessel of the donor have highly prospered.

Then came PARAMĒS'VARAPŌTAVARMAN, to whose desires the crowd of all kings was subject. This wonderful (king) possessed high prosperity (bhūti), was the lord of men (bhūta), had a bull for (his) crest (and) a club on (his) banner, (and) possessed immovable firmness, (thus resembling S'IVA, who wears sacred ashes (bhūti), is the lord of goblins (Bhūta), has a bull for his emblem and a club on his banner, and resides on the mountain).

From him was born a complete incarnation of the blessed Paramēs'vara, who equalled Narasimha both by (the strength of) his body (and) by (his) name (NARASIMHAVARMAN) that spread over the world. This crest-jewel of the Kshatryas bestowed his wealth on temples and Brāhmanas (and) devoutly caused the goddess of the earth, who was in his possession, to be enjoyed by those familiar with the four Vedas.

From him came PARAMĒS'VARAPŌTAVARMAN, who obtained desired treasures, (*viz.*) treasure of fame; who conquered the coquettish ways of the Kali (age); who led the way of policy, which had been prescribed by Dhishana (Brihaspati); (and) who protected the worlds.

At present his prosperous kingdom, in which enemies are subdued by the power of (mere) commands, is ruled as far as the ocean by NANDIVARMAN, who was chosen by the subjects, who is worthy of honour on account of (his) wisdom, (and) who is the full-moon of the race of the Pallavas, which is as extensive as the ocean.

His sixth (ancestor) was the lord BHĪMAVARMAN, who was the younger brother of, (and reigned) after, the glorious SIMHAVISHNU; the fifth PALLAVA ruler (was) the glorious king BUDDHAVARMAN, praised by wise men; the fourth (was) ĀDITYAVARMAN, who resembled (Indra) the bearer of the thunderbolt; the third (was) GOVINDAVARMAN; (and) the second lord of the earth (was) the glorious HIRANYA, the refuge of men.

This S'RĪDHARA resembles Vijaya (Arjuna) in battle, Karnīsuta (Karna) in acquaintance with the arts, Rāma in archery, the king of Vatsa with respect to the science of elephants and to music, Kāma in the (opinion of) women, the first poet (Vālmīki) in the composition of poetry, the master of policy (Brihaspati) himself in suggesting expedients, (and) Dharma (Yudhishthira) in delighting the subjects.

Increasing in prosperity is our lord, king NANDIVARMAN, who is able to support the race of the Pallavas; who is a born emperor; who is handsome; who is a master both in the art

of gymnastics and in the virtue of modesty; who is the son of HIRAṆYA; who belongs to the branch (vargya) of BHĪMA; who worships the feet of HARI (VISHṆU); who is descended from a pure mother; who bears auspicious marks; who is the son of RŌHIṆI; (and) and whose good deeds are numerous.

While the twenty-second year of (his) reign was current, this Rājādhirāja-paramēs'vara, the Mahārāja called NANDIVARMAN, who is engaged in ruling the kingdom of PARAMĒS'VARAPŌTARĀJA, whose mind is clinging to, engaged in, and restless in (the desire for) supreme bliss; whose head is covered with dust that has dropped from the pair of lotus feet of the Lord (Paramēshṭhin); who worships the god, the Brāhmaṇas, (and) others who are worthy of respect; who avoids the passions that oppress the people of the Kali age; who dries up (his) enemies by the fire of (his) growing valour; who refreshes (his) friends by the water of his growing affection; whose right hand is able (to fulfil) the vow of ruling the whole world; whose pair of feet is rubbed smooth (as it serves as) whetstones to the edges of the rubies in the diadems of all kings; who is gracefully embraced by the fortune of the PALLAVA race, (and who therefore resembles) the celestial tree, which is gracefully entwined by the creeper of the Nandana garden; the wrestler of warriors (Kshatriyamalla); the wrestler of the Pallavas (Pallvamalla); whose might is increasing in consequence of (his) mediatations on the feet of the lord, (his) father (and) who is a moon that causes to rise the water of the ocean of great virtues,—was himself pleased to give as a brahmadēya,—(as requested) by Brahmas'rīrāja, who is a friend of men; who is filled with all virtues, as the ocean with a heap of gems; who is famous (but) modest, handsome (and) long-lived, of soft-speech (and) the best of men; who, just as Brihaspati (is the minister) of (Indra) the lord of heaven, is the chief minister of the handsome NANDIN, the lord of the earth (and) chief of the PALLAVAS; who is refined both by nature and

through education; who is the first of the wise, firm (and) brave; who possesses the full splendour of the Brahman and Kshatriya castes, and a loyalty to the glorious NANDIPŌTARĀJA, which does not cease as long as the moon and the stars endure; who supports (his) family; who is the chief of (his) family; who is an eldest son; who resembles the moon in beauty; who excels in all virtues; (and) who is an eldest grandson,—to JYĒSHṬHAPĀDA-SŌMAYĀJIN, who has mastered the ocean-like Vedas, who chants the Sāman (hymns) which are pleasant on account of their melodies (rasa); who has completed the rehearsal and the study of the six auxiliary works, (*viz.*) the ritual of the Veda, grammar, astronomy, etymology, phonetics, and metrics; who knows the properties of words, sentences and subjects; who has drunk the elixir of the S'ruti and S'mriti, who is learned in the portion referring to rites (karma-kāṇḍa) and the portion referring to knowledge; who is skilled in the ways of the world and in the knowledge of the arts; who is versed in poems, dramas, stories, epics and legends; in short, who is skilled in all (branches of) holy and profane knowledge; who is expert in the performance of all rites; who is of good conduct; (who illumines) the world, as a lamp (does) a house; who is courteous (in spite of) the honour (paid to him) and of noble birth; who is the only son of the middle world (*i. e.* the earth), because he has dispelled all ignorance (or darkness); who is considered the best of fathers and grand-fathers; whose good deeds (in former births are the reason of his present) noble birth; who ranks first among the twice-born; who knows the Vedas; who conforms to the precepts of the Veda; who follows the *Chhandōgasūtra*; who has performed the Vāja-Pūinya, an excellent settlement of Brāhmaṇas in the TONḌĀKA-rāshṭra; who is poor in sins; who is distinguished by (his) dress (?); who is a unique person; who cares for both worlds; who accomplishes the three objects that are the five primary elements (pancha-mahābhūta); who knows the six auxiliary

works; who resembles the sun; who possesses good qualities; (and) who is an excellent Brāhmana,— a whole village, the original name of which was KODUKOLLI, (but) which, on becoming a *Brahmadēya,* (received) the new name ĒKADHĪRAMANGALAM, in Undivana Kōshtaka, a sub-division of the same rāshtra, enclosed by the following four boundaries:— in the east, PĀLAIYŪR, in the south, the same; in the west, MANATPĀKKA and KOLLIPĀKKA; (and) in the north, VELIMĀNALLŪR, — to the extent of altogether two *nivartanas*; excluding previous grants to temples and grants to Brāhmanas; excluding (the houses of) the ryots, with all exemptions (parihāra); (and) including the use of the water by digging channels at convenience from the DŪRASARIT, the VĒGAVATĪ, and the tank of TĪRALAYA, houses, fields, gardens and groves.

This (grant was made at) the request (vijñapti) of BRAHMAYUVARĀJA. The executor of the grant (ājñapti) (was) GHŌRAS'ARMAN. Hail! Let there be success!

The author of the (above) paras'asti (was) the honest TRIVIKRAMA, who knew the truth of all sciences (and) performed sacrifices according to the rules of the three Vedas.

(The above is) an order of the King (kōn-ōlai), (dated in) the twenty-second year (of his reign). Let the inhabitants of ŪRRUKĀTTUKŌTTAM see (it)!

Having seen the order (tirumugam) which was issued (after) (the king) had been pleased to give KODUKOLLI., (a village) of our country,— having expropriated the former owners, at the request of BRAHMAYUVARĀJA, (having appointed) GHŌRAS'ARMAN as Ājñapti (ānatti), having excluded (previous) grants to temples and grants to Brāhmanas, having excluded the houses (of the ryots), to the extent of altogether two patti,— as a brahmadēya to S'ETTIRENGASŌMAYĀJIN, who belongs to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, follows the Chhandōgasūtra and resides at PŪNI,— we the inhabitants, went to the boundaries which the headman

(viyavan) of the district (nādu) pointed out, circumambulated the village (padāgai) from right to left, and planted stones and milk-bush (round it).

The boundaries of (this village are): The eastern boundary (is) to the west of the boundary of Pālaiyūr; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the boundary of Pālaiyūr; the western boundary (is) to the east of the boundary of MANARPĀKKAM and of the boundary of KOLLIPĀKKAM; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of VELIMĀNALLŪR.

(The donee) shall enjoy the wet land and the dry land included within these four boundaries, wherever the iguana runs and the tortoise crawls, (and shall be permitted) to dig river channels and inundation channels for conducting water from the S'ĒYĀRU, the VĒHKĀ, and the tank of TIRAIYAN. (He) shall obtain . . . . for these channels. Those who take and use (the water) in these channels by pouring out baskets, by cutting branch channels (?), or by employing small levers, shall pay a fine to be taken by the king. He and his descendants shall enjoy the houses, house gardens and so forth (and shall have the right) to build houses and halls of burnt tiles. (The land) included within these (boundaries) we have endowed with all exemptions. He himself shall enjoy the exemptions obtaining in this village without paying for the oil-mills and looms, the hire of the well-diggers (ulliyar), the share (kānam) of the Brāhmanas and of the king, the share of *s'engodi*, the share of *kallāl*, the share of kannittu (?) the share of corn ears (kadir), the share of the headman, the share of the potter, the sifting of paddy, the price of ghee, the price of cloth (puttagam), the share of the cloth (pattigai), the hunters (?), messengers, dancing-girls . . . . the grass, the best cow and the best bull, the share of the district (nāttuvagai), cotton threads, (padān-gari), servants, nedumburai, palmyra molasses, the fine to the accountant (karanam) and the fine to the minister,

pattūr-s′arru, ... the tax (vari) on planting water-lilies, the share of the water-lilies, the fourth part of the trunks, which is given of old trees of various kinds, including areca palms and cocoanut trees. . . . . .

The grant (para-datti) was made in the presence of the local authorities (?), of the ministers, and of the secretaries.

Hail! Written by His Majesty's great treasurer (S′rī-Paramēs′vara-mahākōshthagārin).

He (*viz.*, the donee) shall obtain the houses, the house-gardens, and two patti of land.

Hail! Let there be success! Adoration!

CHAPTER XVI.

Krishna III.

[This is a record of the last great Rāshtrakūta ruler, Krishna III, who ruled in the middle of the tenth century A. D. Under him the Rāshtrakūta dynasty reached its highest state of expansion and prosperity. This dynasty came to power just in the middle of the 8th century, having overthrown the Early Chālukyas of Badami. It was in turn overthrown under the successors of Krishna III in A. D. 972-3. The record contains a brief account of the history of the dynasty. Many of the rulers of this dynasty were great patrons of literature, both Sanskrit and Vernacular, which flourished in their Courts. Krishna's conquests extended from Malva and Central India in the north to Kanchi and Tanjore in the south. Some members of the dynasty were Jain and Krishna was apparently a S′aiva.]

[Karhād Plates of Krishna III.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., pp. 286-290.]

Om. Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of (Vishnu) the enemy of Mura, which, being placed on the jar-like breast and the face of Lakshmī, that are marked by shining particles of nectar-water, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival.

And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of (S′IVA) the conqueror of the three cities (or of Tripura), which is adorned by the coloured figures impressed on it by (the close contact of) the cheeks of (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain, and which thus bears, as it were, through regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of love.

There is (the moon), the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of love, the lord of the night-lotuses ; whose

rays are full of nectar, whose thinness produced by his having given up his body for the gratification of all the gods, is his ornament, and portion of whom is worn on the head by S'ambhu (S'IVA) verily on account of his love for excellent qualities.

From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes,— like a stream of moonlight,— which extended the series of the joys of the world, as the other unfolds the series of night-lotuses; which destroyed the darkness of the sin, as the other destroys the darkness of the night; which fulfilled all desires, as the other fills all quarters; and which had unblemished adherents, as the other constitutes the bright half of a month!

In that (race), which resembled the ocean of milk, arose the family of YADU,— like a necklace of pearls,— which, like it, had a matchless splendour; the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in the other is borne by a sapphire when it is put in; which possessed indelible virtues, as the other is firmly strung on a thread; and which was the ornament of the earth.

In that (family) the eternal being (KRISHNA) became incarnate in order to destroy the crowds of the Daityas who had grown turbulent; and princes of that family, whose fame and valour were pre-eminent, became known in the world as TUṄGAS.

In that race was born RATTA, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who destroyed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies; and after him the RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA family became known in the world by the name of (his) son RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA.

From that (family) arose in this (world) DANTIDURGA, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who, having broken the uneven ground (or the strongholds) by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this (earth) a

single field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries; the creeper in the shape of supreme sovereignty, which has a glossy appearance, is shady on account of its thick foliage and charming, bears abundant fruit, and is able to remove the fatigue of men resorting to it, and planted it firmly in his own family by feeding it with the rut-water of his elephants.

After him, (his) paternal uncle, the prosperous king KRISHNARĀJA, protected this earth,— he who constructed temples of Īs'vara (S'iva), white as clouds in autumn, by which the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains.

He had a son of the name of GOVINDARĀJA. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother NIRUPAMA, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.

From him who was (also) called KALIVALLABHA, and who was an artificial hill on which rose the moon in the shape of the triad of white parasols, was born JAGATTUNGA, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies.

His son, to whom kings bowed, and who oppressed the king of serpents by the mass of his army, was that NRIPATUNGA-DĒVA who founded MĀNYAKHĒTA, which derided the city of the Indra of the gods, in order to humble, as it were, the pride of the gods; and the sound arising from the fire of whose prowess, when it burnt the CHĀḶUKYA race, (filling) the interior of the vessel in the shape of the universe, has not yet ceased.

His son, the prosperous KRISHNARĀJA, became for a long time the lord of the earth,— he who spoke pleasant words, who terrified the GŪRJARA, who destroyed the egregious pride, generated by prosperity, of the arrogant LĀTA, who was the preceptor charging the GAUḌAS with the vow of humility, who deprived the people on the seacoast (Samudra) of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (*i.e.* obeyed)

by the ANGA, the KALINGA, the GANGA and the MAGAHDA, waiting at his gate.

He had a son known as JAGATTUNGA, a moon to the eyes of the women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without obtaining the kingdom, as if at the request of the heavenly nymphs.

INDRARAJA, his son, protected the earth. It was from fears, as it were of the indignity likely to be caused (in future) by his beauty, that the god of love, even before, had his body reduced to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of (S′iva) the wielder of the *pināka*.

From him was born AMOGHAVARSHA,—as Rāma was born from Das′aratha,— the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow, as that of the other by the braking of the bow of Rudra, and who (like the other) was a great store-house of beauty.

He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection of his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of GOVINDARĀJA, ruled the kingdom.

He, too, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of the vices, and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction.

The king AMŌGHAVARSHA, the son of JAGATTUNGA, the first among the wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the RAṬṬAS, and also prompted by the god (S′IVA), the wielder of the

pināka, who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Krishna), ascended the glorious throne of heroes.

In righteousness he was a Manu, in battle a Kārtavīrya, in valour a Bali, in attracting the hearts of men a Dilīpa, though he thus acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty.

How possibly can the store of his merits be extolled when — O Wonder! the moon-crested (S′iva), bowed down to and worshipped by Hari (Vishṇu) and Virincha (Brahma), was in battle seen by all his flying enemies to be near him in the sky and to assist him?

From that sovereign lord, as from Paramēs′vara (S′iva), was born a son, the prosperous king KRISHNARĀJA, who though a prince, (*i. e.* not a crowned king), exercised power in the world and was the lord, as the other was Kumāra, S′aktidhara and Svāmin.

He conquered SAHASRĀRJUNA, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife,— (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (*i. e.* Paras′urāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (*viz.* Krishnarāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (ramā) with his two hands.

His enemies, madly transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the prosperous RAṬṬAS, fell down themselves.

He, S′RĪVALLABHA, killed the wicked DANTIGA and VAPPUGA, who seemed to be (the two demons) Madhu and Kaiṭabha, risen again on earth to torment men. He planted in Gangapāṭi, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rāchyamalla.

While his prowess, which destroyed numbers of GANGAS, his enemies, as the heat dries up the stream of the GANGĀ, was glowing, it is no matter for wonder that the PALLAVA (king) AṆṆIGA was beaten and reduced to a sad condition, as it is no wonder that fragrant leaves withered (by heat).

On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about KĀLAÑJARA and CHITRAKŪṬA vanished from the heart of the GŪRJARA.

(All) the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the island of SIMHAḶA bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (*i. e.* subordinate) to his father.

By his body which had a dark, glossy colour, long arms, and a broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Vishṇu), able to deliver the earth (or to uplift the submerged earth),— his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode.

When the festival of the coronation of this beloved of Prosperity, who had greatly propitiated Hari (Vishṇu), at which celestial nymphs danced and heavenly Rishis pronounced benedictions, had taken place amidst joy, the quarters which began to tremble and to be submissive on account of his preparation to exact tribute, as girls would have manifested tremor and affection at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as the others would have been dear to him in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving away themselves.

He, a powerful master of the science of politics, desirous of obtaining a lofty position, deprived some of his subordinate chiefs of their places and established others who were deserving, separated some from each other by producing disunion and uniting others, and thus arranged them in a high or low position; as a proficient master of the science of words (*i. e.* grammar), desirous of making up a long form, separates some on account of their dissimilarity and unites others, and places them in order, above or below.

Having, with the intention of subduing the southern region, uprooted the race of the CHOLAS, given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, *viz.* the CHĒRAMMA, the PĀNḌYA and others, along with the SIMHALA, his tributaries, he erected a high column at RĀMĒS'VARA, which was the image (as it were) of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory.

And he, the *Parambhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēs'vara*, the prosperous AKĀLAVARSHADĒVA PRITHVĪVALLABHA, the prosperous VALLABHANARĒNDRADĒVA, who meditates on the feet of the *Parambhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēs'vara*, the prosperous AMÖGHAVARSHADĒVA,— being well, commands all the governors of districts and heads of subdivisions, chiefs of villages, leading persons, officers and employés, so far as they may be concerned with these presents.

" Be it known to you that, while my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Mēlpāṭi for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for my dependents, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of KĀLAPRIYA, GANḌAMĀRTĀNḌA, KRISHṆĒS'VARA, etc. EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY years of the area of the S'AKA king having elapsed, on Wednesday, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the (cyclic) year KĀLAYUKTA,— I have granted the village named KAṄKĒM, one of the Kalli group of twelve (villages), situated in the district (vishaya) of KARAHĀṬA, along with the rows of trees in it, the assessment in grain and gold, the flaws in measurement, the inflictions of fate, and all the produce, to GAGANAS'IVA, a great ascetic versed in all S'ivasiddhāntas, the pupil of the preceptor ĪS'ĀNAS'IVA, who is the head of the establishment of VALKALĒS'VARA in KARAHĀṬA and is an emigrant from the KARAÑJAKHĒṬA group (of villages) for the

purpose of providing seats and clothes to all ascetics, as promised on the Kārttikī (*i.e.* the full-moon tithi of Kārttika),—(the grant) to be respected (*i. e.* not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure.

To the east of this (village) is the river KANHAVANNĀ; to the south, (the village) of (PĒNDU) RĒM; to the west, the village named ĀDHĒM; to the north that same river KANHAVANNĀ. No one should cause obstruction to Gaganas'iva while he cultivated the village named KAṄKĒM, defined by these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed. And he who causes (obstruction), will incur all the five great sins; for it is said:—

'He who grants land, dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) he who takes it away and he who abets the act, dwells as long in hell.'

"Rāmabhadra, again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings."

Engraved by YŌSYAGMA.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mahēndrapāla.

[This is a record of the reign of the Gurjara ruler Mahēndrapāla. After the break up of the Empire, Hindustan was reduced to the condition of a number of independent kings struggling among themselves to achieve a dominant imperial position. From among these emerged the Gurjara state of Bhinmal in Western Malva, which established itself as an imperial power at Kanauj. There were five or six rulers of this dynasty of whom two made extensive conquests and made good their claim to an imperial position. The period of their ascendency was the ninth and tenth centuries A. D.]

[Pehoa Pras'asti of the Reign of Mahēndrapāla. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 248–250.]

Om! Adoration to Mādhava!

May that chief male (purusha) Vishṇu protect you; he who, alone (remaining) sleeps, when the regent of the night (the moon) has disappeared, when the mountains have completely crumbled away, when the foe of darkness (the sun) has been destroyed, when mankind have been annihilated, when the host of stars has tumbled down, when the circle of the earth has fallen, and thus the oceans have become one.

May lovely Vishṇu's beautiful eye, that is pleasing through the quivering of the brow and charming with its resplendent pupil, protect all the three worlds—(the eye) of him who plunges into the ocean of nascent deep love, (of him) whose lustre (is increased by) the great splendour of Lakshmi's moon-like face, (of him) whose cheek is dimpled with smiles.

May the field of KURU grant a happiness free from all pain,—(that field) which is able to remove the impurity of sins of many kinds, that is inhabited by crowds of sages, who

have destroyed the dense darkness (of ignorance) by gaining the knowledge of the self (and hence) are filled with deep joy.

And may that (beautiful) water of Sarasvatī's (stream) entirely cut your (bonds of) misery — (that water which is) a boat (for crossing the ocean of births), a chariot for travelling along the road of the gods, a cloud such as appears on the destruction of the world, shedding copious showers on the fire of . . . . . . the virtuous (and) a sun to destroy the thick mud-like darkness of a concatenation of various diseases.

Victorious is His glorious majesty MAHĒNDRAPĀLA, who is able (to bless) his race with prosperity and destroys the courage of the armies of his foes all round, whose enemies are subdued, who is beautiful like the moon and grants protection.

There was a king, JAULA by name, the front ornament of the exalted TOMĀRA race, resplendent with (fiery) bravery, who gladdened the hearts of the virtuous, who was thunderbolt for (those) mountains, the wicked, who was famous for his wonderful deeds, adorned with compassion; (and) acquainted with truth, who gained prosperity by looking after the affairs of (his) sovereign.

He conducted his relatives to highest prosperity . . . . presenting, as offerings to the earth, pieces cut off from the temples of the mighty elephants of his foes; and his fame that possessed a splendour fair like the glittering moon, assumed the guise of the stream of heaven (Gangā), since it clave to the heavenly elephants and united with the sky.

That (man), possessed of far-spreading lustre, built in this world in every region numerous palaces of the immortals, that obscure the moon with their lofty tops, (and) they look from afar like posts fixed (by him) at the quarters of the horizon in order to set limits to his fame.

From his famous ocean-like race, that is the home of joyful prospering intimates of princes, that is difficult to overcome, and possesses great riches of numerous resplendent pearls, sprung a lord called the illustrious VAJRAṬA, the front ornament of his family, who obtained all his wishes and gained a lofty elevation through most pure business transactions.

He wedded a wife, charming like the glittering moon, called MANGALADĒVĪ just as S'auri (Vishṇu) (took) the daughter of the ocean (Lakshmī) and Girīs'a (S'iva) the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī).

He begot by her JAJJUKA, who (was) exceedingly peaceful among good men who are free from envy, (but) a terrible comet for the army of his invincible foes, that inspired terror through the trumpeting of the angry war elephants.

He (Jajjuka), who cut down his enemies with his sharp sword and gained wide-spreading glory by succouring the fearful, the blind and the distressed, had two wives, who were almost the front ornaments of virtuous, attached women, and lovely like the noble moon.

One was famed as CHANDRĀ and the second as NĀYIKA; being created out of the most excellent virtues, they were both abodes of happiness.

From CHANDRĀ was born a prince, called GOGGA, whom the creator placed at the head of the firm men, who gladdened the earth with the pearls issuing from the rents in the temples of the elephants of his foes, who possessed a sharp sword.

And afterwards NĀYIKĀ bore a clever son, PŪRṆARĀJA, a destroyer of the splendour of the adherents of his enemies, a conglomerate of the rays of the sun for those lotuses, the soldiers of his army, a foe of unrighteousness, a moon in the womb of his race (that is pure) like the sky.

The wives of his foes, covering their lips, (red) like young shoots, with their hands, and straightening their rich curls, moistened their hollow cheeks, that possessed like splendour, with the water of their tears

DEVARĀJA, a store of virtues, was his uterine brother; he who destroyed the dense darkness, the armies of his foes, by a sudden burst of his brilliant courage, (he who was) the abode of forbearance, destroyed the impurity of the Kali age,

cast off love and the other sinful passions, and resembled a tree, giving aggreeable shade and bending under good fruit.

When the proud (foes) whose exceeding brilliancy unfolded itself in the battle merely heard the most famous name of that (warrior) who angrily furrowed his face with frowns, then their strong swords fell from their hands.

These three (brothers), who thus were lovable on account of the manifestation of extraordinary famous virtues, who gradually gained wealth, who were most pure-minded and attached to holy men, caused to be built here temples of Vishnu, who is endowed with unequalled greatness, because they were afraid of the dreadful ocean of existence that is difficult to cross for men of little wisdom.

(The Temple) in the middle has been built by GOGGA'S order, (that) at the back by PŪRṆARĀJA'S, and (that) in front by DĒVARĀJA'S, in order to destroy the dense, deep darkness.

As long as this earth is bounded by the four oceans, so long may this temple be resplendent as a mansion of S'RĪ.

A man of KĀMBOJA descent, the son of RĀMA, whose famous name is ACHYUTA, was here the overseer (kārayita), he who is an image of Dhanvantari, an incarnation of the quintessence of learning, a friend of the virtuous, and a bee on the lotus of the heart of his master.

One village called YAKSHAPĀLAKA, a second named GEJJARA, and a third name PĀṬALA, have been assigned for the enjoyment (of the gods).

With respect to this (gift), noble protectors of the earth, considering the course of mundane existence, must show an entirely virtuous disposition for the welfare of their bodies.

There was indeed, a Bhaṭṭa Rāma, the sun of his sky-like race, attached to . . . . . , learned and modest; his son, M U . . . . made in play (as it were) this sweetly composed, graceful eulogy that is full of sentiment.

Here was a mason named DURLABHĀDITYA. (His

CHAPTER XVIII.

Rājēndra-Chola.

[This is a record of the great Chola, known best among people, by his title Gangaikoṇḍa Chola. He was the son of the Great Rājarāja I. Gangaikoṇḍa Chola was by far the greatest conqueror of the dynasty. The Chola empire as it descended to him already included the whole of the Madras Presidency and what is now Mysore. His fame rests upon his conquest, or his attempt at it, of Bengal and his overseas victories. Under him the Chola empire reached the greatest limits. He was the second of a happy succession of great monarchs whose achievements in peace and war alike stand high in impartial estimation. The dynasty came into importance about A. D. 800 and lasted till about A. D. 1200 in great power and somewhat precariously for another half century or more.]

[Inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla.
South Indian Inscriptions,
Vol. II. Part I. pp. 108–109.]

Hail! Prosperity! On the two-hundred-and-forty-second day of the 19th year (of the reign) of Kō-Parakēsarivarman, alias the lord S'rī-Rājēndra-S'ōradēva, who, in (his) life of high prosperity, (during which he) rejoiced that, while Fortune, having become constant, was increasing, the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame had become his great queens,— conquered with (his) great and warlike army IḌAITURAI-NĀḌU; VANAVĀSI, whose warriors (were protected by) walls of continuous forests; KOLLIPPĀKKA, whose walls were surrounded by *Sulli* (trees); MANNAIKKADAKAM of unapproachable strength; the crown of the king of ĪLAM,

(who was as impetuous as) the sea in fighting; the exceedingly beautiful crown of the queen of the king of that (country); the crown of SUNDARA and the pearl-necklace of Indra, which the king of the South had previously given up to that (king of Ilam); the whole ILA-MANDALAM on the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the sun, family-treasures, which the arrow-shooting (king of) Kerala rightfully wore; many ancient islands, whose old and great guard was the sea, which resounds with conches; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Lakshmi, which PARAS'U-RĀMA, having considered the fortifications of S'ĀNDI-MATTĪVU impregnable, had deposited (there), when, raging with anger, (he) bound the kings twenty-one times; the seven and a half *lakshas* of IRATTAPĀDI, (which was) strong by nature (through the conquest of which) immeasurable fame arose, (and which he took from) JAYASIMHA, who, out of fear (and) full of vengeance, turned his back at MUYANGI and hid himself; the principal great mountains, (which contained) the nine treasures; S'AKKARAKŌTTAM, whose warriors were brave; MADURA-MANDALAM, whose forts (bore) banners (which touched) the clouds; the fertile NĀMANAIKKŌNAI, which was full of groves, PANCHAP-PALLI, whose warriors were hot with rage; MĀS'UNI-DĒS'AM, whose paddy-fields were green; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (other) treasures, (which he carried away) after having seized INDIRADAN of the old race of the moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (at) ĀDINAGAR, (a city) which was famous for its unceasing abundance; ODDA-VISHAYAM, which was difficult to approach, (and which he subdued in) close fights; the good KŌS'ALAINĀDU, where Brāhmanas assembled; TANDABUTTI (*i.e.* Danda-Bhukti), in whose gardens bees abounded, (and which he acquired) after having destroyed DHARMAPĀLA (in) a hot battle; TAKKANA-LĀDAM (*i.e.* Dakshina-Lata or Rāda in Bengal), whose fame

reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having attacked RANAS'ŪRA (whose) strength departed; VANGĀ-LADĒS'AM, where the rain did not cease (and from which) GŌVINDACHANDRA, (whose) fortune diminished, fled; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to frighten on a hot battle-field MAHĪPĀLA, who was deprived (even) of his slippers, bracelets and ear-rings; UTTIRALĀDAM (*i.e.*, Uttara-Lāta) on the sea of pearls; the GANGĀ, whose waters sprinkled *tīrthas*, which were full of flowers; and (who),— having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught SAMGRĀMAVIJAYŌTTUNGAVARMAN, the king of KADĀRAM, along with (his) vehicles, (*viz.*) rutting elephants, (which were as impetuous as) the sea in fighting,—(took) the large heap of treasures, which, (that king) had rightfully accumulated; the (arch called) *Vidyā-dhara-tōrana* at the "war-gate" of the extensive city of the enemy; the "jewel-gate" adorned with great splendour; the "gate of large jewels"; VIJAYAM, of great fame; PANNAI, watered by the river; the ancient MALAIYŪR (with) a fort situated on a high hill; MĀYIRUDINGAM, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; ILANGĀS'ŌGAM (*i.e.*, Lankā-s'oka), undaunted (in) fierce battles; MĀPPĀPPĀLAM, having abundant high waters as defence; MĒVILIMBAN-GAM, having fine walls, as defence; VALAIPPANDŪRU, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle; TALAI-TTAKKŌLAM, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; MĀDAMĀLINGAM, firm in great and fierce battles; ILĀMURI-DĒS'AM, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); MĀNAKKĀVARAM, whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region and KADĀRAM, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea;—having been pleased to make gifts in the college (kallūri), which surrounds the king's flower-garden (ārama) on the northern side of the royal hall

(tiru-māligai) of MUDIKONDA-SOLAN within the palace (kōyil) at GANGAIKONDA-S'ŌLAPURAM, the lord S'RĪ-RĀJĒNDRA-S'ŌLADĒVA vouchsafed to order, that two thousand *kalam* of paddy, fully measured by the *marakkāl* (preserved) in the temple of this god (and) called (after) ĀDAVALLĀN, should be supplied every year, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the treasury in the city, to be enjoyed (bhōga) by the priests (āchārya) of the temple of the lord S'RĪ-RĀJARĀJAIS'VARA, (*viz.*) by our lord, the (S'ai) vāchārya SARVAS'IVA-PANDITA, and by those who shall deserve it among the pupils (s'ishya) of this lord and the pupils of his pupils (pras'ishya), who are natives of ĀRYADĒS'A, MADHYADĒS'A or GAUDADĒS'A. (The above order) was written by the royal minister (who writes the king's) orders, S'EMBIYAN VILUPPARAIYAN, (and) engraved on stone, as heard from the mouth of the king. Let the S'aiva-āchāryas of this (spiritual) line (vams'a) protect this charity (dharma) !

CHAPTER XIX.

The Paramāras of Mālva.

[The following inscription is in praise of the dynasty of the Paramāras of Mālva to which the renowned scholar and patron of learning king Bhoja belonged. This dynasty appears to have risen to prominence in that region after the fall of the Gurjaras of Kanauj. They had their share of wars with the Gurjaras on the one side and both the Rāshtrakutas and the later Chālukyas. It was the founder of the latter family that killed Munja, having defeated him in battle and made him prisoner. Bhoja himself fell a victim to the aggressive ambition of Karna of Dāhala. This dynasty had its capital at Dhāra in Mālva.]

[Nagpur Stone Inscription.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. pp. 189–195.]

Om! Adoration to Bhāratī!

O goddess of speech and divine Durgā! Let simplicity, force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us!

May Lakshmī's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity, he from whose middle stride even the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth!

May good utterences, clad in *jāti* and *vritta* metres, pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us! And may sages be, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them!

May S'iva grant whatever is auspicious, he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord of the

Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race, which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitively adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the king of kings!

Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for S'iva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords!

May that form of the husbands of Umā and Lakshmī grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious!

May Vishṇu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself!

Well-known is the glorious mount ARBUDA, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Mēru!

Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an

axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasiṣ̈tha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunā, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

Once upon a time, when the royal descendant of Kus'ika visited him and took by force the cow Nandini, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasiṣ̈tha enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Vis'vāmitra, the unparallelled hero, the illustrious PARAMĀRA, rightly so named.

Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supports of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Rājyavardhana, Vis'āla, Dharmabhṛit, Satyakētu, and Prithukīrti.

This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Rāma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

In this race there was the king VAIRISIMHA whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity

and bravery ; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrella of peacock's feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent S'ēsha, rising up through the fissure of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching rutty elephants.

Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his Majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishṇu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

From him sprang the illustrious king SĪYAKA, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it. Although he delivered the earth, although

he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was in Vaikuṇtha.

From him was born the illustrious king MUNJARĀJA, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as S'iva did to (Daksha's) sacrifice ; and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains.

Even when he was marching for mere pleasure his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious SINDHURĀJA, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of the waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire. and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king BHŌJADĒVA, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals bowed down with envy.

His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums by the thunder of loud *Jharjharas*, by a multitude of shrill *damarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth. thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his rutty elephants.

Even now when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuṇṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svāyambhu again of the five-mouthed Hara, S'ambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikēya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation UDĀYĀDITYA became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by KARṆA, who joined by the KARNĀṬAS, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.

The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.

The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, ... shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious LAKSHMADĒVA, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

This is what his marching drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: Join together, you king of tortoise and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the loads of his army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!

When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.

When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's quarter, then just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked TRIPURI and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Rēva, where his

tents were shaded by the creeping plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Rēva's succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river banks.

Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

Even the troops of elephants of ANGA and KALINGA, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,— even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Purushōttama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'

The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the

all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the CHOLAS and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.

The water of the TĀMRAPARAṆI which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the PĀṆḌYA chief.

Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.

It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timingilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.

By those same Timingilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

Afterwards when impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the

lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.

And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens, the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnaga and betel-nut trees, and attended by the fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

Being encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkshu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the TURUSHKA whom he had eradicated with ease, he caught the KĪRA chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the SARASVATĪ was eloquent beyond measure and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

This blessed (king) on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave with due rites two villages in the VYĀPURA maṇḍala. Afterwards his brother, the king NARAVARMA-DEVA, has instead assigned the village of MOKHALA-PĀṬAKA, at the request of the three places.

And he has ordered the illustrious LAKSHMĪDHARA to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

The year 1161.

OM!

O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kus'a* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

CHAPTER XX.

Vikramāditya Chāḷukya.

The following is an abbreviated version of the historical portions of Bilhana's *Vikramānkadēvacharitam*. Bilhana was the court poet of Vikrama, but his poem partakes of the conventional character far too much to be of use as history. Vikrama, the last great Chāḷukya, ascended the throne by an act of usurpation in A. D. 1076; his Chola contemporary Kulottunga came to the throne in A. D. 1070. It was this Chola that was the worst enemy of the Chāḷukya. Both were great rulers and after a few years of war they wisely came to an understanding for permanent peace on the debateable frontier. Between them they divided India south of the Vindhyas. While each one did his best to carry on the administration on liberal and enlightened lines, they both bequeathed vast empires to their successors. The Chola Empire lasted longer than the Chāḷukya. The extract gives in detail the complicated transactions ending in the usurpation in both the empires.

[G. Bühler: *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. pp. 317-323.]

Brahma, Bilhana says, was once engaged in his Saṁdhya devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his CHUḶUKA, or water-vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chāḷukyas, a race of heroes, among whom HĀRĪTA is reckoned as first progenitor, and MĀNAVYA. Some of them desirous of victory, extended their conquest

thence to the region of the betel-palms in the south, " where the tusks of their elephants wrote the record of their victories on the sands of the ocean-shore that witnesses the secrets of the CHOLAS. Narrow was the realm of VIBHĪSHAṆA to them, and their horses roamed as far as the snowy mountains.

In course of time, TAILAPA (973–997) became the ornament of the Chālukya race, a mighty warrior, who utterly destroyed ' those thorns of the earth ', the Rāshtrakūtas.

After him ruled SATYĀS'RAYA (927–1008), who surpassed Bārgava in the skilful use of his bow. He was succeeded by JAYASIMHA (1018–1040), who, after a long career, glorious through numerous victories, " received a garland, culled from the PĀRIJĀTA tree, from Indra's own hands."

After him came his son ĀHAVAMALLADĒVA (1040–69) called also TRAILŌKYAMALLA, who, in songs, tales, and dramas was celebrated as ' the second RAMA.' He conquered the CHOLAS; he stormed DHĀRA, the capital of the PRAMARAS in Malva, from which king BHOJA had to flee. He caused countless sacrifices to be offered, and by his liberality he surpassed the CHINTĀMAṆI, the wish-granting philosopher's stone. He utterly destroyed the power of KARṆA, king of DHĀHALA. He erected a pillar of victory on the shore of the ocean. He personally vanquished the king of DRĀVIDA, ' who had run to encounter him', and stormed KĀNCHI, the capital of the CHOLAS, driving its ruler into the jungles. He beautified KALYĀṆA so that it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth..................................... (To him) at last, in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of the planets, the eagerly desired son was born. Flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and as the gods rejoiced in heaven, so a festive tumult, the recitations of the bards, and the songs of the dancers, filled AHAVAMĀLLA'S palace.

The child's marvellous lustre, which announced its future greatness, induced the king to call him VIKRAMĀDITYA. He throve and grew up a handsome and strong boy, the favourite of his father. Early he showed in his plays that he was destined to be a mighty warrior and conqueror. He loved to chase the royal swans, the *rājahaṁsas*, and to tease the lion-whelps in their cages. Later he acquired the various *lipis*, or alphabets, and the art of using the bow. "Sarasvati also, the giver of poetry and eloquence, kissed his lotus-mouth." Not long after Vikrama, the third promised son was born. He received the name JAYASIMHA.

After a while, when ĀHAVAMALLA saw that VIKRAMĀDITYA, who had grown up to manhood, had acquired all ' sciences ' and was anxious for the battle-feast, he conceived the plan of making him YUVARĀJA, and thus to designate him as his successor. But, as soon as he opened his mind to the prince, the latter respectfully but firmly refused the offered favour, alleging that the dignity of YUVARĀJA belonged by right to his elder brother. In this refusal he persisted, when his father represented to him that both S'iva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him to be destined for the succession. Finding that VIKRAMA was not to be moved, the king raised SŌMĒS'VARA to the rank of YUVARĀJA. Royal fortune and the love of the father, however, clung to VIKRAMA alone. He bore also the burden of the duties of the king and of the YUVĀRAJA, " just as the primeval tortoise carries the serpent S'ĒSHA and the earth."

With the permission of ĀHAVAMALLA, VIKRAMA then set out on a series of warlike expeditions. He repeatedly defeated the CHOLAS (S. III. 61, 63, 65, 66; IV. 22-28) and plundered KĀNCHI. He lent his assistance to the king of MALVA, who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom (III. 67), and carried his arms as far north as

GAUDA and KĀMARŪPA. He attacked also the king of SIMHAḶA or Ceylon, who fled before him to the hermitage of the husband of Lōpāmudra (Agastya) (III. 77, IV. 20). He destroyed the sandalwood forests of the MALAYA hills, and slew the Lord of KĒRALA (IV. 1-18). He finally conquered GANGAKUNḌA (IV. 21), VENGI (IV. 29), and CHAKRAKŌṬA (IV. 30).

After having accomplished these brilliant exploits VIKRAMA turned homewards. He had come as far as the KRISHNA, when he suddenly was disquieted by the appearance of unfavourable omens which announced some great impending misfortune. He stopped his march and performed on the banks of the river *s'antis*, or propitiatory ceremonies intended to avert the threatened evil. Whilst he was still engaged in these rites, he saw the chief messenger of his father coming from the capital, with a face that clearly announced him to be the bearer of bad news. The prince asked the Halkar at once for news of ĀHAVAMALLA, since already on the appearance of the omens he had been anxious about the welfare of the latter. Reluctantly and with many tears the messenger told the dismal story of ĀHAVAMALLA'S sudden illness and death. The king, he said, had been supremely happy on learning his son's success against the Chola, Pāndya, and Simhaḷa. In the midst of his rejoicings he had been attacked by a malignant fever. Finding that all remedies were of no avail, he had resolved to finish his life in the TUNGABHADRA, the Ganga of the south. With the consent of his ministers he had travelled to the sacred stream, and had died in its waves, meditating on S'iva.

On the receipt of these news VIKRAMĀDITYA was deeply affected, and loudly manifested his grief. At first he refused to be consoled, and had to be disarmed lest he should attempt his own life. After a while he recovered, and performed the funeral ceremonies on the banks of the Krishna.

After that he set out for Kalyāṇa in order to console his brother. SOMES'VARA came out to meet him, and received him affectionately. The two brothers lived for some time after in concord and friendship. Vikrama, though superior to Somēs'vara by his talents, honoured the latter as the chief of his house and his king. He also presented him with the booty which he had made in his wars. After a while, however, Somēs'vara fell into evil courses. Pride obscured his judgment, he became suspicious, cruel and avaricious, so that he tarnished the glory of the Chālukya race, and all right-minded persons fell away from him. He even tried to do harm to his brother. When the latter saw that he was unable to restrain the king from evil, and had to fear for his life and good name, he left Kalyāṇa together with all his followers. He also took with him the youngest son of Āhavamalla, JAYASIMHA, as he did not think him safe whilst living near the king. SOMĒS'VARA, on learning that his brothers had fled, sent an army in pursuit of them. VIKRAMADITYA, unwilling to make war against his brother, avoided it for a time. But, when finally compelled to fight, he destroyed it 'like one mouthful.' Other forces which were despatched after him in succession suffered the same fate, until these repeated losses forced SOMĒS'VARA to desist from persecuting his more talented brother.

VIKRAMA, on being left to himself, marched towards the TUNGABHADRA, on whose bank he rested his army for some time. Then he became anxious to fight the CHOLA, and spent some time in the province of VANAVĀSA.

When he resumed his march, the trumpets of his army reminded the kings of MALAYADĒS'A of his former great deeds. JAYAKĒS'I, the king of the KONKAṆA, came to him and brought presents. The lord of ĀḶUPA made his submission, and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of KĒRAḶA wept when they thought of VIKRAMA'S former deeds.

The CHOLA king, finally, feeling that he was unable to withstand Vikrama's approaching army, sent an ambassador to meet the Chālukya prince and to ask for his friendship, to cement which he offered his daughter's hand. Vikrama agreed to stop his expeditions, and to retire to the Tungabhadra, where the Chola king promised to meet him. The retreat to the river was arranged in order to save appearances, lest it should be said that the Chola had proffered his friendship through fear. Accordingly the king and the prince met; the former was humble, and the latter generous to his former foe. They were pleased with each other, and Vikrama's marriage with the Chola princess was duly celebrated. The king then departed. Shortly afterwards, while Vikrama was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother on the throne. He entered KĀNCHI, and put the rebels there under his heel. Next he visited GANGAKUNDA, destroyed the armies of the enemy, and finally secured the throne to the Chola prince. After a month's further stay in Kānchi he returned to the Tungabhadra.

But his expedition was not to have any lasting effects. A 'few days' after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that RAJIGA, the lord of VENGI, had taken possession of the throne of Kānchi.

Vikrama at once prepared himself to march against the usurper; but the latter, in order to save his newly acquired throne, asked SŌMADĒVA of KALYĀNA to make an alliance with him against their common enemy. Sōmēs'vara, thinking that a favourable opportunity to destroy his hated brother had been found, eagerly accepted Rājiga's offer, though the hereditary enmity between the Cholas and the Chālukyas ought—at least in Bilhaṇa's opinion—to have prevented such a step. He watched Vikrama's movements, and followed him so closely on his march to the south, that when Rijiga's army had at last been reached by Vikrama, Sōmēs'vara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. When Vikrama became aware of the hostile intentions of his brother, he was deeply distressed, being averse to a fratricidal war. He sent friendly messages to Sōmēs'vara and made attempts at a reconciliation. Sōmēs'vara apparently accepted his brother's advances; but in reality he meditated treachery, soiling the fair name of his race. He only temporized, in order to find a favourable moment for striking a deadly blow. Even when Vikrama became aware of this, he was still unwilling to encounter his brother on the battlefield. It was only at the express command of S'iva, who appeared to him, in a dream, ordered him to fulfil his destiny and to become a great ruler, that he consented to an appeal to arms. On the morning after the vision had appeared, a hard-contested battle was fought, in which the victory finally remained with Vikrama. Rājiga fled, and Sōmēs'vara was taken prisoner.

Immediately after the battle Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadra. He at first intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne. But S'iva interposed a second time, and angrily commanded him to assume the sovereignty. Then Vikrama obeyed the order of the god, and allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhan.

To his youngest brother, JAYASIMHA, Vikrama gave the office of viceroy of VANAVĀSA. Shortly afterwards he made further expeditions, by which he subdued everybody and everything in the four quarters of the universe, excepting only the elephants that guard the points of the horizon. Against whom these wars were waged is not stated. But 'when the multitude of the kings had been exhausted,' Vikrama once more had to 'extinguish' the Chola. Then only he entered his capital of Kalyāṇa.

The time of Vikrama's arrival in Kalyāṇa fell in spring, the season of pleasure and love. The king also was destined to undergo its influence, and to become a slave to the gentle passion. He learnt that the SILĀHARA prince, ruling over KĀRAHAṬA, possessed a daughter, Chandralēkhā or Chandaladēvi by name, who, being endowed with marvellous beauty, was by the order of Pārvati to hold a *svayamvara.* Her eyes sought the Chāḷukya, and remained fixed on his face. When the other princes saw this, they lost all hope of success with the *patiṁvarā*, and plainly manifested their disappointment and anger. But the *pratihārarakshī*, the attending matron, loudly approved the choice of the princess, who had selected a husband so noble, handsome, rich and brave, the conqueror of the allied Cholas and Chāḷukyas. She exhorted her to throw the garland over his neck. Chandralēkhā obeyed, the accclamations of the assembled multitude approved her act, and the happy pair at once proceeded to the nuptial *manḍapa.*

But when the end of the rainy season came he received news which rudely aroused him from his luxurious repose. A confidential adviser informed him that his brother JAYASIMHA, whom he had made Viceroy of Vanavāsa after the victory over Somēs'vara and Rājiga, was meditating treason. In proof of this assertion the informer stated that Jayasimha amassed treasures by oppressing his subjects, that he increased his army, that he had subjected to himself the forest tribes, that he was seeking the friendship of the Drāviḍa king, and that, worst of all, he tried to seduce Vikrama's soldiers from their allegiance. In conclusion he added that the prince would shortly advance with hostile intentions to the Krishṇavēṇi.

Vikrama was greatly distressed by this news, which opened the prospect of another fratricidal war. Unwilling to act without fuller information, he sent out spies to inquire into the truth of the accusations against Jayasiṁha. The report which they brought back confirmed it. Even then the king was averse to harsh measures. He addressed friendly exhortations to his brother, representing to him that, as he possessed already regal power in the provinces assigned to him, a rebellion would profit him but little. But all was in vain.

After this victory Vikrama returned to Kalyāṇa, and enjoyed the pleasures of the cold season, which in the meanwhile had come on. These consisted in hunting-parties, at which he slew lions and other large game, hunted boars and hounds, and shot deer with arrows.

After Vikrama had subdued all his enemies, his dominions enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elements even showed themselves propitious; neither famine nor pestilence visited his kingdom. In course of time sons were born to him, who resembled and gladdened his heart. His liberality to the poor of all countries was unbounded. He erected also buildings for pious purposes, to commemorate his name. He built a temple of Vishṇu-Kamalāvilāsin: in front of it he dug a splendid tank. Near it he built a city with splendid temples and palaces.

Once, more, however, after a long period of peace, he had to draw his sword. The CHOLA again became proud and insolent. But Vikrama's army marched on Kānchi; a battle was fought, in which the Chola fled as usual. Kānchi was taken. Vikrama amused himself there for some time, and finally returned to his capital.

CHAPTER XXI.

Kumaradēvi.

This is a record of the queen of Govindachandra of Kanauj whose reign extends from A.D. 1104 to 1154. Govindachandra was perhaps the greatest member of the Gaharwar or Rathor dynasty of Kanauj which was subverted under Jayachandra, the last of this dynasty, by the Mahommadans. Govindachandra's influence extended to the distant South where there is an inscription of his in the heart of the Chola country at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, the Chola capital.

[Sarnath Inscription of Kumaradēvi.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX. pp. 326–328.]

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhara.

May Vasudhara protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *dharma*; who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.

Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Īs'vara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its

purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of VALLABHARĀJA, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad PĪṬHIKA, of increasing mighty prowess.

The full moon expanding the lotuses of the CHHIKKŌRA family known on earth as S'RĪ-DĒVARAKSHITA, the lord of Pīṭhi (who) surpassed even the splendour of GAJAPATI by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (Vallabharaja), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) Vishṇu (Vidhu), to the Lakshmī of beauty; a veritable (moon) in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Vishṇu with S'rī in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms.

Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, *viz.* his haughty foes, a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

In the Gauḍa country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver, this incomparable diadem of kshatryias, the Anga king MAHAṆA, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Dēvarakshita in war and maintained the glory of Ramapala, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

The daughter of this Mahanadēva was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Parvatī); she was married to the lord of Pīṭhi as (Parvatī) as Svayambhu.

She was known as S'ANKARADĒVĪ, full of mercy like Tara, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts

To them, forsooth, was born KUMARĀDĒVI, like a dēvī, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Tārinī herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

After having created her, Brahma was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air; rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entraping female antilopes, *viz.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pārvatī) by her proud grace.

Her mind was set on religion alone; her desire was bent on virtues; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit; who found a noble satisfaction in betowing gifts; her gait was like that of an elephant; her appearances charming to the eye; she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

In the royal Gahaḍavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, CHANDRA by name, a moon (chandra) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamuna forsooth became darker.

The king MADANACHANDRA, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valour being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavān by his glory.

Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārāṇasi from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as GŌVINDACHANDRA.

Wonderful, the calves of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants; but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the town of its uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

Kumārādēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like S'rī with Vishnu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tārinī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of gods).

Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to S'rī-Dharmachakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuki was made (?) the foremost of all pattalikas by her (Kumarādēvi).

This lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmās'ōka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vihāra* for that *sthavira* was elaborately erected by her, and might he, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

If any one on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You *jinas* shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lokāpālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

The poet in eight *bhāshas*, known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, S'RĪ-KUNDA by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rōhana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

This *pras'asti* has been engraved by the *s'ilpin* VĀMANA on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (*i. e.* Lapis Lazuli).

CHAPTER XXII.

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Singhaṇa.

This is a grant relating to the reign of Singhaṇa Yādava of Dēvagiri. This dynasty came into existence on the break-up of the Empire of the Chālukyas about the end of the twelfth century A.D. and lasted till it was finally overthrown by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1318 in the reign of Mubarak Khilji, who succeeded Alau-d-din. Singhaṇa was the third ruler of this dynasty and came to the throne in A.D. 1210.

[Inscription of the time of the Yādava Singhaṇa. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 344-346.]

Om! Adoration to the ruler of the Gaṇas!

Accomplished . . . . may, charming like the planets, ... the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, ... ever preserve you from the darkness arising from this mundane existence!

Triumphant is the illustrious BHĀSKARĀCHĀRYA whose feet are revered by the wise,— (he who was) eminently learned in Bhaṭṭa doctrine, unique in the Sāmkhya, an independent thinker in the Tantra, possessed of unblemished knowledge of the Veda, (and) great in mechanics and other arts; who laid down the law in metrics, was deeply versed in the Vais'ēshika system, might have instructed the illustrious Prabhākara in his own doctrine, was in poetics (himself) a poet, (and) like unto the three-eyed (god S'iva) in the three branches (of the Jyōtisha), the multifarious Gaṇita and the rest.

May blessings rest on the illustrious race of Yadu with everything pertaining to it, (a race) in which Vishṇu himself was born, to protect the trembling universe!

(In his race) was born the illustrious prince BHILLAMA, a lion to the furious combined arrays of the roaring GŪRJARA elephants, skilful in cleaving the broad breasts of the LĀTAS, (and) a thorn in the hearts of the KARNĀTAS. (And) here there was the crest-jewel of princes, the illustrious Jaitrapāla, who put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the distressed ladies of Āndhra.

From the illustrious Jaitrapāla sprang, (in truth) a part of the beloved of Lakshmī, Simghana, who escaped (the ills of) this mundane existence (?); a ruler of the earth who acquired great might on the battle-fields, who in the van of the fight struck down the prince ruling over MATHURA (and) the lord of KĀS'I, (and) by whose young dependent even that valorous HAMMĪRA was defeated.

In former days Purushōttama became incarnate for the good of the world in Yadu's family. He it is who here is conquering the whole earth (and) who protects me,— the ruler of the earth, the lord Simha.

Now for the description of the family of the dependents :—

May fortune attend the illustrious solar race in which the prince NIKUMBHA was born, whose descendant was RĀMA!

In this (race) was the illustrious prince named KRISHNARĀJA, who defeated the rulers of the earth, meditated solely on the lord of Lakshmī, (and) bent his thoughts on revering gods and Brahmans. Since in the qualities of bravery, generosity, discrimination and prowess none else was his equal, he obtained that title which had been gained by the foremost of the Pāndavas,—(the title of) Dharmarāja.

From him sprang a son, the illustrious Indrarāja, of far-reaching intelligence (and) endowed with eminent prowess; a hero, whose head was fanned by the wives of his enemies. And he had a son, gracious to the good, expert in teaching (and) a store-house of religious merit,— Govana, skilful as a rider of horses like Revanta, at whose sight the god of love, proud as he was of his beauty, left the body.

From the illustrious Govana, an ocean, as it were, containing countless jewels, sprang, a very Indra among the rulers of the earth, the illustrious Soïdēva, who spread the fame of his religious merit, conquered the hosts of his enemies, (and) adored Vāsudēva;

A cage of adamant to (shelter) those who sought his protection, always a brother to others' wives, in keeping the vow of truth a very Yudhishthira, (and) ever a fever of terror to the enemies' wives.

Since Soidēva has gone to heaven, his younger brother rules here 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages' with its forts and towns. May he, Hēmādidēva, the son of the illustrious Govana, whose thoughts are fixed on Nanda's son, long live happily,— he who in liberality resembles the son of the Sun, (and) who in bravery is like Arjuna; that famous frontal ornament of the princes in NIKUMBHA's family, whose hand is a lion to the elephants of the enemies of the illustrious—SIMGHANADĒVA!

In the S'ĀNDILYA race was the king of poets TRIVIKRAMA. To him was born a son, named BHĀSKARĀBHATTA, on whom king BHŌJA, conferred the title of VIDYĀPATI.

From him was born GOVINDA, the omniscient, like unto Govinda; (and) he had a son, a second Sun, as it were, PRABHĀKARĀ.

From him was born MANŌRATHA, who fulfilled the desires of the good; (and) from him, the illustrious MAHĒS'VARĀCHĀRYA, the chief of poets.

His son was the illustrious BHĀSKARĀ, the learned, endowed with good fame and religious merit, the root (as it were) of the creeper—true knowledge of the Veda, (and) an omniscient seat of learning; whose feet were revered by crowds of poets, disciples no disputant anywhere was able to compete.

Bhāskara's son was LAKSHMĪDHARA, the chief of all sages, who knew the meaning of the Veda, (and) who was the king of the logicians (and) conversant with the essence of discussions on the subject of sacrificial rites.

Judging him to be well acquainted with the contents of all the S'āstras, JAITRAPĀLA took him away from this town and made him chief of the learned.

To him was born a son, CHANGADĒVA, (who became) chief astrologer of king Simghana; who, to spread the doctrines promulgated by the illustrious BHĀSKARĀCHARYA, has founded a college, (enjoining) that in (this) his college the *Siddhāntas'irōmani* and other works composed by BHĀSKARĀ, as well as other works by members of his family, shall be necessarily expounded.

The land and whatever else has been given here to the college by the illustrious SOIDĒVA, by HĒMADI and by others, should be protected by future rulers for the great increase of (their) religious merit!

May it be well! In S'aka 1128, in the year Prabhava, on the full-moon day in the month S'ravana, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, the illustrious SOIDĒVA, in the presence of all the people, granted to the college founded by his preceptor, (confirming the gift) by (pouring out) water from his hand, sources of income, as follows:—

—(ii)—

Vishnuvardhana Hoysala.

This is an extract from one of the records of the time of Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the greatness of the Hoysala dynasty which founded its empire by appropriating the southern viceroyalties of Vikramāditya VI. Vishnuvardhana extended the viceroyalties in his charge by pushing his northern frontier up to the Krishna river against the Yadavas and other feudatories. He did not declare himself independent but kept up a nominal subordination. Like other great rulers, he pursued an impartially enlightened policy in matters religious.

[Date A. D. 1136
Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol V. (Part I) Bēlūr 17.
Translation, pp. 48–49.]

On his deserting his queens, forsaking his kingdom, and dying in the country near Chengiri, he took possession of the company of Narasinga's wives, put down Angara, trampled on Singalika, and turning in the direction of the Ganges, slew the kings of the northern countries,—the son of king Erēganga. Having succeeded in this expedition to the north, his elephant trampled down the army of the Pāndya king; ashamed of so easy a victory, having defeated Chola and Gaula in terrible great wars. And pursuing Pāndya, he seized Nolambavādi, capturing Uchchangi in a moment and tossing it up, as if playing at ball,— Kānchigonda-Vikrama-Ganga. After that, marching to the Telunga country, he captured Indra . . . together with his elephants, the wealth gained by victory and the inherited wealth of his family. After that, destroying root and branch Mas'ana, who was a torment to the country, he wrote down the Banavase Twelve Thousand in his *kadita* (or account book). When the king Vishnu was playing, as if at *tirikal* with the great Sahya mountains, Nīlagiri, and . . . of what account are the others? and what wonder is it that he took the famous Pānungal in half a second with a single flip of his finger . . . . . killing only with a glance . . . natha who was taking Kis'ukal, he pursued after Jayakēs'i and gained possession of the Palks'ige Twelve Thousand and the (Haive?) Five Hundred. Turning and turning he entered hill-forts, going farther and farther away as far as the ocean . . . . , attacking them again and again, he sought out the bravest in the earth and slew them—Vishnuvardhana-Dēva. Whatever countries are considered famous, whatever

hill forts are specially described, whatever kings are worthy of being reckoned, he subdued, and added to his fame throughout the world as far as the limits of the four oceans — the glory of the Kshatriya race, the brave king Vishnu.

When the great Kshatriya, entitled to the five great drums, mahāmandalēs'vara (with numerous other titles and epithets, among which are) a Bhairava of the last deluge to the Chola race, a royal lion to the elephant Chera, a submarine fire to the ocean the Pāndya race, a wild fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava, a *s'arabha* to the lion Narasimhavarmma, his unshaken fame a lamp into which Kālapāla and other kings fall like winged white-ants, the twang of his bow putting to flight the deer the Vanga, Anga, Kalinga and Simhala kings, Kānchīpura resounding with his orders as with the sharp sounds of drums (named), the wives of hostile kings employed in his house as female servants, squeezing in his hand the southern Madhurapura, having destroyed Jananāthapura, by his general,— Kānchi-gonda Vikrama-Ganga Vīra-Vishnuvardhana-Dēva, protecting under his sole umbrella the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand, the Nonambavādi Thirty-two Thousand and the Banavase Twelve Thousand, was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ganapati.

A. — SANSKRIT PORTION.

This is a record of the founding of a town in the island of Divi at the mouth of the Krishna in the territory of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. The dynasty of the Kākatiyas became heirs to the eastern portion of the empire of Vikramāditya, as the Yadavas, of the North and the Hoysalas, of the South. Ganapati's was one of the longest reigns of the dynasty. He was contemporary with Singhana Yadava, and Narasimha II. and Somēs'vara among the Hoysalas.

Let him bestow prosperity upon you, the boar-shaped lord of Prosperity (Vishnu), who, in order to carry with ease on (his) tusk the Earth which (he) had imperceptibly (and) quickly raised from the ocean, grew (to such an extent that) his body was squeezed with difficulty into the aggregate of (all) the worlds, before she (*viz.* the Earth) could praise (him) with words appropriate for the request to place (her) in her (original) position !

Victorious is the sickle of the moon on the head of S'ambhu (S'iva), which purifies the worlds by (its) rays, consisting of masses of nectar, (and) which resembles a water-spout, attached to a glittering golden vessel,— the matted hair of him (S'iva) who bears the cool and clear water of the Gangā (river).

Let him protect you, the elephant-faced (Ganēs'a), the bees near whose rutting (temples) resembles lovely blue water-lilies near a great mountain torrent !

There is on earth a mighty (and) lovely city, called ANMAKONḌA, the ornament of Āndhra country (and) the family capital of the kings who have sprung from the race of KĀKATI.

In this (city) resided king PRŌḶA, (who) protected the earth by the strength of his arms, (and) in the fibre of whose valour hostile kings from all sides were (burnt like) moths.

By him some kings were cut up with the sword, as Mantena-Guṇḍa; others were deprived of (their) elephants and horses on the battle-field, as Tailapadēva; others were driven away far from the battle, as GŌVINDA-DANḌĒSA; (and) others were (again) installed in their respective dominions, as king CHŌḌŌDAYA.

This king PRŌḶA had two sons by MUPPALADĒVI, the two renowned princes RUDRA and MAHĀDEVA, (who proved) lions to the rutting elephants (which were) hostile kings.

In the absence of (his) father, the earth was ruled by king RUDRA, the only hero in the world, the mighty forest-fire of whose valour burnt the crowd of rival kings, as a jungle.

The towns which he had rased to the ground, were known (only) by the quarters which (he) founded in the city of ŌRUNGALLU under their respective names, and peopled with their respective inhabitants; while in these towns, which had been made his own, (he) built celebrated temples, named S'RĪ-RUDRĒS'VARA, and settled fresh inhabitants.

As a father (his) children, this king made (his) subjects prosper by nourishing, gladdening, punishing, protecting (and) fondling (them).

After king RUDRA had gone to heaven, the earth was cherished by king MAHĀDĒVA, the rising Sun of whose valour extinguished the light of (other) kings, as of stars.

To this great king MAHĀDĒVA was born by BAYYĀMBIKĀ the brilliant lord GAṆAPATI, the light of (his) race, whose hands were able to bear the whole (burden) of the earth.

In the points of the horizon are spreading the moon-white creepers of fame, which have grown on the battle-fields that were flooded with the showers of the rutting-juice, dripping from the temples of his furious lordly elephants; repeatedly ploughed by the hard hoofs of (his) galloping tall steeds; (and) covered with the seed of masses of pearls, dropping from the heads of the elephants of (his) enemies.

Resplendent is he whose vast kingdom grows day by day, as he is continually resorted to by all the kings of the races of the Moon and of the Sun, either subdued by his own arms or subdued by others, (and) taking refuge (with him).

The beloved servant of this king GAṆAPATI is the glorious general JĀYA. His descent is described in the following (verses.)

In this Kali (age) was produced from the renowned race of AYYA the valorous BHĪMA, who chastised those enemies who were hard to be managed (and) easily fought those who were hard to be overcome.

This BHĪMA, who equalled Dhanada (Kuvēra), caused the residence of (his) race, the village named KROYYŪRU in the country of VĒLANĀNḌU, the ornament of the earth, to equal (Kuvēra's city) Alakā in wealth.

To him were born by RACHYĀMBIKĀ three (sons), named JILLA, NĀRĀYAṆA, and SŪRAYA, by whom, as by the (three) constituents of (his) power, king CHŌḌI, overcome (all his) enemies on earth.

Having conquered KANNĀRADĒVA in battle, JILLA, the strength of whose arms was brilliant, received from his lord the dignity of general, along with a palanquin, a parasol, and all other emblems.

His younger brother was NĀRAYAṆA, who was always devoted to the interests of (his) lord, (and) who converted all the enemies of king CHŌḌI into servants by policy and valour.

At the command of (his) lord, he converted this DVĪPA, which Dhanada (Kuvēra) had formerly created at the junction of Krishnavēṇi the (*i.e.* Krishna river) and the salt-sea, into a fortress which was hard to be entered by enemies (and) pleasant to the residents.

He converted DVĪPA, which had been previously uninhabitable by men, into a city which was fit for the residence of a king, as it shone with whitewashed mansions, upstair-houses, palaces, towers and lofty ramparts; as its site was adorned with extensive gardens which teemed with various flowers and fruits; (and) as its glittering fields of paddy and sugar-cane were inundated by the water of the brimful tanks in the neighbourhood.

He constructed in this DVĪPA the CHŌḌASAMUDRA tank and the CHŌḌĒS'VARA temple, (both of which were called) after the name of (his) lord, and the BHĪMĒS'-VARA temple, (which was called) after the name of (his) father.

He built in the same (place) lovely temples of Vishṇu and of Karāla-Bhairava, of Banduladēvi (and) of Mahakāli.

Further, he constructed in the village called VAḌLA-KURRU the BHĪMASAMUDRA tank, (and) a lovely temple of (S'iva), called BHĪMĒS'VARA, (both of which were) named after (his) father.

The lord, who was pleased with (his) valour, granted to this NĀRĀYAṆA the lordship over DVĪPA and the mastership of the GONṬU villages (Palli).

Knowing (him to be) a conqueror of wealth, a great hero, (and) able to govern (his) country, king CHŌḌI, also appointed the same NĀRĀYAṆA (his) general.

To this renowned NĀRĀYAṆA were born by NĀRĀMBA four sons, resplendent as the sun,—CHŌḌI, BHĪMA, the renowed PINNA-CHŌḌI, and BRAHMA by name.

These four excellent warriors resemble the (four) oceans, as they are the refuge of BRAHMANAS (Badaba), (just as the oceans are the seats of the submarine fire); they resemble the (four) expedients of the king, as they accomplish (his) objects; (and) they resemble the (four) arms of (Vishṇu) the enemy of Mura, as they embrace fortune.

(These) four chiefs of warriors procured by the strength of (their) arms the victory over the four quarters to the king who was the lord of the Chōḍa country.

As S'rī (is the wife) of Vishṇu, Gir (Sarasvatī) of the the lotus-born (Brahma), the mountain-daughter (Pārvati) of S'ambhu (S'iva), Rati of Kāma, Sachī of (Indra) the lord of the gods, Ushā of the Sun, (and) Rōhiṇi of the Moon,—the chaste wife of the virtuous lord, the glorious PINNA-CHŌḌI, was DĀMĀMBA, who fulfilled the desires of supplicants, (as) the celestial cow.

This couple had two daughters, NĀRĀMBĀ and PĒRA-MĀMBĀ, (and) three sons, called PṚITHVA, JĀYA, and NĀRĀYAṆA.

Though the middlemost of these three brothers, the general JĀYA is the chief (of them) in ability, just as (Arjuna) the middlemost of the Pāṇḍavas.

At this time, the ornament of the princes, king GAṆA-PATI, having easily subdued the lords of CHŌLA, KALINGA, SĒVAṆA, great KARNĀṬA, and LĀṬA, (and ruling the territory between the southern ocean and the VINDHYA mountain, made the whole country of VĒLANĀṆḌU, together with DVĪPA, subject to himself.

The king carried to his city a mass of handsome women, fine men, excellent elephants and horses, and various kinds of precious stones, which he had seized throughout this country of VĒLANĀṆḌU.

The king GAṆAPATI took to wife that NĀRAMĀ and PĒRAMĀ, whose beauty, elegance and grace were unrivalled in the three worlds.

The king welcomed and took into his service their younger brother, the handsome JĀYANA, who, in spite of his youth,

commanded respect on account of the great modesty, wisdom, cleverness, firmness, profundity and bravery, indicated by (his) face.

Then, pleased by (his) deeds, the king joyfully granted to this JĀYAṆA the dignity of a general (and) of a commander of the elephant-troop, along with a palanquin, a parasol, and and other emblems.

Having been appointed general by his lord, surrounded by wise men, (and) full of power, young JĀYA, the slayer of hostile warriors, resembles (the good) Kumāra, who has been appointed general by (Indra) the lord of the gods, is surrounded by gods, (and) bears a spear.

The edge of his sword (is) the only messenger, (announcing) to powerful enemies (their approaching) union with celestial nymphs; (and) his policy (is) the messenger, (announcing) to his beloved (master) the union with the fortunes of other kings.

He who was distinguished by the name VAIRIGŌDHŪMAGHARAṬṬA, formerly became a (mere) mouthful for the point of his (viz. JĀYA'S) sword, that was about to devour all the brave enemies in battles.

He is ashamed at the praise of (his) liberality, which meets his ears, (thinking), it seems :— " What are my gifts (worth), (if) a single lord of the twice-born (*viz.* the Moon) gets entirely emancipated in every (dark) fortnight; (if) a single scholar (*viz.* the planet Mercury), having lost most of his wealth (or light), always approaches (another) wealthy man (*viz.* the Sun); (and if) a single poet (*viz.* the planet Venus), being bewildered, does not rise for some days ?

He possesses offspring in the shape of the following seven (acts) which (he) has duly fulfilled:— (The procreation of) a son, the composition (of a poem), (the hoarding of) a treasure, (the planting of) a grove, the marriage of (a girl to a Brahmana), (the consecration of) a temple, and (the construction of) a tank.

In this DVIPA, founded by his grandfather NĀRĀYAṆA, this general JĀYA himself caused to be built, out of true devotion, this lofty (and) substantial temple, equal to the Kailāsa mountain, of Mahādēva, who has the shape of a linga (and) is called Gaṇapēs'vara after the name of king GAṆAPATI.

In the S'AKA (year) measured by the qualities (3), the arrows (5), and the Bhavas (II), (*i. e.* 1153), in the (cyclic) year KHARA, in the bright (fortnight) of Mahādēva, on the *tithi* Gauri, JĀYA performed the consecration of his blessed GAṆAPATĪ'SVARA.

B.—TELUGU PORTION.

[Gaṇapēs'varam Inscription of Gaṇapati. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 89–93.]

To the god Mahādēva of the Gaṇapatīs'vara (temple) at DIVI the various inhabitants of the eighteen districts vishaya) (on) both (sides of the Krishna river) gave at VANGEGAḌḌA (as) revenue a large fanam (chinna) on (every) boat.

For the merit of GAṆAPATIDĒVA-MAHĀRĀJA, JĀYAPA-NĀYAKA granted (the following) shares (vritti):— Three *puṭṭi* in ENUMBARUTA. Three *puṭṭi* in PEDDAMADDĀLI. Two *puṭṭi* in KURU-MADDĀLI. Two *puṭṭi* in AYANAMPŪNDI. Two *puṭṭi* in NENTA-LAKODŪRU. Three *puṭṭi* in PRŪNIKONDA. Two *puṭṭi* in CHĪKULAPALLI. Two *puṭṭi* in KAUNDIPARUTA. Two *puṭṭi* in PAÑCAUMBARŪTA. Two *puṭṭi* in CAEVENDRŪ. Four *puṭṭi* in DONEPŪNAI. Two *puṭṭi* in KĀRAMŪRU.

In the (district of) ODPĀNGULU (he) granted (the following) land:— Two *puṭṭi* in KAUTEPALLI. Two *puṭṭi* in VRENKAṬI.

For a perpetual lamp JĀYA-NĀYAKA granted twenty-five cows.

CHAPTER XXIV.

—(i)—

Somēs'vara.

This extract is from one of the inscriptions of Vīra Somēs'vara, the Hoysala. It was in the reign of his father Narasimha II., that the Hoysala intervention in the South was called for. The Chola Empire was far gone in breaking up as a result of a great invasion from Ceylon which was beaten back with great difficulty. After this, trouble arose from the feudatories of the Empire among whom the Kadavas (Pallavas) and the Magaras (people of Magadai on the frontiers of Salem and Mysore) were the chief. Narasinha's intervention proved effective and he assumed the title of the Establisher of the Cholas. When his son Somēs'vara ascended the throne he found it was necessary to prevent the Chola country from passing into the hands of the Pandyas who were then rising in power. Somēs'vara therefore established himself at Kannanūr near Trichinopoly as an alternative capital, and had under his authority a considerable portion of the Tamil country till he was turned out by the Pandyas in spite of a marriage alliance he had entered into with them. Even after his death the northern part of the Chola country continued under their authority and the Hoysala empire was divided between the two sons of his, the Southern Capital having been at Tiruvannamalai.

[*Epigraphia Carnatica.* Vol. V. (Part I) Hassan, 108.
By Lewis Rice, C. I. E., M. R. A. S.]

Ballāla's son Narasimha is said to have subdued Chola, and trodden down the distinguished enemies Magara and Kādava. His son Sōma is said to have made the Magara king roll on

the ground, to have struck the Kadava king violently on his face and killed him, to have plucked up Pāndya by the root, and to have set up Chola again in his kingdom. The burden of the earth being too heavy for other kings, he took upon himself the burden and relieved them,— such was the mercy of the Hoysala emperor Vīra-Sōmēs'vara. Kings in their anxiety to discover a place which the mighty arm of Soyi-Dēva would not reach and where they might be at ease, took refuge in three kinds of forts,—those in the great sea, those in dense forests, or those on a mountain. As'vapati, Gajapati and Narapati could not stand before him, how then could other kings? That his *karapātra* (saw) should cut off the heads of hostile kings is no wonder, but even his *patra* (written order) cut off their heads.

—(ii)—

Sundara-Pāndya.

This is the most famous of the Pandya rulers of the rising new dynasty who turned out of the Chola country, the Hoysalas who were related to him by marriage. It was in the time of this Sundara-Pāndya that the power of the Pāndyas reached the height of its glory. His magnificent gifts to the temple at Srirangam is but the reflex of the conquests that he made and an indication of the greatness to which he laid claim. All this glory was, however, short-lived as the kingdom of Travancore was rising into importance on his flank and others in the North became active against the northern frontiers of the Cholas.

[Ranganātha Inscription of Sundara-Pāndya,
Epigraphia Indica. Vol. III. pp. 14-17.]

Hari Om. Hail! Prosperity!

Having caused to long for the other world (*i.e.* to set or die) that moon of the Karnāta (country), by whom th...

lotus-pond of S'rīranga had been reduced to a pitiable state, (and) re-instating in this (lotus-pond of S'rīranga) (the goddess) Lakshmī, who is worshipped in the three worlds,—king Sundara-Pāṇḍya rose full of brilliancy, (like) the sun.

The king who was the Mahēndra of the glorious (city of) Madhura, built for the lord of Ranga a shrine (ālaya) with the gold which (he) had given by frequently performing the ascending of the scales. The mass of its rays, red like fresh roses, appears to be the dawn which indicates perpetually the rise of the bright moon of (the king's) fame from the mountain of his (the god's) raised arms.

Having covered with gold the shrine (vimāna) of Hari (Vishnu) at Ranga, the Sun among kings placed in it (an image of) the highest being (*parama-pums*),— which consisted of gold to the tips of the nails, (and which he called) after that name of his, which had arisen out of that great work,— just as the Yōgin (places the highest being) in (his) pure mind.

The Sun among kings gave to S'ārngin (Vishnu) who resides at Ranga, a garland of emeralds, which (he) had taken from the treasure of the Kāthaka king, (and) which, clinging to his (the god's) broad breast, bears resemblance to the tender arms of the Earth, who has sportively approached from behind to embrace (him).

The powerful Sun among kings gave to the god who is the lord of Ranga, a crown of jewels, whose splendour extinguishes the light of the jewels on the hoods of the serpent (that forms the god's) couch, just as (the splendour) of the Sun (dispels the light) of the stars.

The Sun among kings made (an image of) the king of serpants (S'ēsha), (who serves as) couch to S'ārngin, the lord of Ranga, which was covered with a golden skin (and) which glittered as though it had been smeared with the saffron dye of the body of Lakshmī, who was sporting with her husband.

The king who was the Chief of the world, made at Srīranga a golden tower (gōpura), which was the residence of Narasimha (and) which surpassed the splendour of the peaks of (the golden mountain) Sumēru. When at night, the full-moon is standing for a moment over this (gōpura), which emits a mass of bright lustre, it looks as if she had joined the sun.

When the king who propagated the race of the MOON (and) who was the Chief of the world, had carried away the wealth of the capital of the KĀTHAKA (king), was distressed by terrible single-combats,—he built a shrine (vimāna) of VISHVAKSENA, covered with plentiful gold, which, by the mass of light that it emitted, made the Sun waver in (his) course on the city, which had been (hitherto) unobstructed.

Reclining under the arch (makara-tōrana), which the Sun among kings had made with masses of gold, taken from the (crowns) of his enemies, (and) which was adorned with numerous jewels,— Hari, who dwells in the temple of Ranga, surpasses a monsoon cloud which is surrounded by a rainbow.

The Sun among kings built a shrine (vēs'man) of Vishnu (Nṛsimha) who gracefully raises his arms, with masses of gold from crowns which he had taken from the treasuries of kings. The intense light which rises from it, makes the ground in his (the god's) vicinity even now appear covered with the blood of the lacerated demon on (his) lap (Hiranya).

The glorious Sun among kings gave to the lord of Ranga a pendent garland (sraj) of pearls, which appeared to be the celestial tree, offered by S'akra (Indra) who was afraid that (his) crown might be broken (by the king.)

Sundara-Pāndyadēva made for the lord of Ranga a canopy (vitāna) of pearls, which appeared to be his (the king's) fame, reduced to a solid state, (and) through the splendour of which (his) the god's frown resembles the diadem of purāri (S'iva), which is surrounded by the Bhāgīrathi (Gangā.)

Like the creeper (of paradise) that grows on the emerald mountain (*i.e.* Mēru?), the devotion that filled Marakata-prithivībhrit (*i.e.* the emerald king), though of one kind only, gave delight to Murāri (Vishnu) at Ranga by (presents of) of masses of different fruits, which were manufactured out of heaps of gold, such as areca-nuts, jack-fruits, plantains, cocoa-nuts and mangoes.

The noble Sun among kings made at Ranga a golden car (s'atānga), which, on account of its height, resembled a movable (Mount) Mēru, (and) through the splendour of which the clouds on the sky appear to be accompanied by lightning even in the season of autumn..

The king who was the Chief of the world (and) the conqueror of (all) foes, made for the god Madhuripu (Vishnu) at Ranga a large movable arch-shaped aureola (prapā) of gold, which, like the dawn indicates, by masses of rays that are spreading on all sides that the moon of his fame is rising simultaneously in all the eight cardinal points.

The Sun among kings made for the highest being which is fond of staying at Ranga, a golden (image of) Suparna (Garuda), by whose bright splendour, as (by that) of (his) elder brother, a permanent dawn appears to reign in the world.

The Sun among kings placed on the body of Kamsadvish (Vishnu), who reposes at Ranga, a golden under-garment. Covered by its rays, the Creator, who rests on (the god's) navel, appears to dwell once more in the golden egg (from which he was produced).

The Sun among kings gave to the lord of Ranga a lofty golden aureola (prabhāvalaya) of great beauty, which, placed near him, resembles a lovely group of blowing *asoka* (red trees) with tamāla (dark green trees) between.

Placed on the golden pedestal (pīthi), which the Sun among kings had given (to him), (and which was adorned

with various jewels, and bearing the lofty aureola (prabhā), the lord of Ranga surpasses a black cloud which bears a rainbow (and) rests on the peak of the Golden Mountain (Mēru).

In the month of Chaitra, the Sun among kings celebrated for Ranga the procession-festival (yātrotsava), which is praiseworthy on account of bright, wonderful and prosperous days. It is no wonder (that) those who possess intelligence, rejoice, when even the trees, which are devoid of intelligence, are in high glee (or in full flower).

In order to celebrate the festival of the sporting (vihārōtsava) of (the god) who dwells at Ranga, with Kamalā (Lakshmī), king Sundara-Pāndyadēva built of gold a new ship. Through the trees which grow on the banks (and) which are covered with its (the ship's) splendour, the daughter of the Kavēra (mountain) resembles the Mandākinī (Gangā), whose banks are adorned with groups of mandara trees.

The Sun among kings, who had covered the circle of the coast that formed the surrounding wall of the earth, which had become (his) residence, with the fame of his victories,—covered the high inner wall of the shrine (sadman) of S'ārngin, who is the lord of Ranga, with masses of gold, which (he) had brought from (his) wars.

The large (and) long dining-hall (abhyavahāra-mandapa), which king Sundara-Pāndya had constructed in front (of the shrine) of the god who is the lord of Ranga, did not suffice for accommodating the golden vessels (parichchhada), which, taking away the wealth of kings, that (same) king had provided.

The Sun among kings placed on the body of the lord of Ranga, from the feet to the crest, ornaments of jewels, through which Padmā (Lakshmī), though leaning on his breast appears to have again entered the mine of jewels (*i.e.*, the ocean from which she arose).

While, having crushed the enemies of order in war, Sundara-Pāndyadēva, whose bow was (ever) ready for action, protected the world,—the golden armour which he gave to Vishnu, who dwells at Ranga, was a (mere) ornament.

Having arranged two dining-weeks (abhyavahāravāra), (which he called) after his own name, (and) the abundance of which was inexhaustible, Sundara-Pāndya, who entertained the desire for pre-eminence, filled the capacious belly of S'ārngin, who is the lord of Ranga, which even the fourteen worlds had been unable to fill.

Repeatedly performing the ascending of the scales on every day at the shrine of the lord of Ranga the Sun among kings would have doubtlessly broken up (Mount) Mēru for the sake of (its) gold, if (that mountain) had not borne the fish which was the device on his (the king's) banner.

The Sun among kings gave to S'ārngin, who reclines on the sandy bank of the daughter of the Kavera mountain, huge vessels, wrought of gold, which appeared to be so many suns of majesty, taken from the crowd of rival kings by the power of (his) arm.

Placed along with Lakshmi on the throne (simhāsana), which the Sun among kings made out of the conquered thrones, from which he had thrown by force all kings who would not bow (to him), and gave to the lord of Ranga, and which is as lofty as his own mind,— that (god) resembles a cloud, accompanied by lightning (and) resting on the slope of (Mount) Mēru.

For Hari, who had received the famous name of Hēmachchhadanarāja of the king who has covered (the temple) with gold, for the golden destroyer of snakes (*i. e.* Garuda), and for the splendid hall (which contained) the couch (of the god),— the Sun among kings built three golden domes (vimāna), by which (the temple of) S'rīranga glitters as he (the king) by the (three) crowns worn at (his) coronation.

— (iii) —

Ravivarman.

The successors of the Sundara-Pāndya referred to in the previous extract, lapsed into the chronic state of civil war and disputed succession, which ultimately brought in the Muhammadan intervention. It was now a war between Ravivarman and Vīra Pāndya in spite of a family alliance. Ravivarman carried his conquests so far successfully as to beat the enemies of the Cholas from Kanchi and have himself crowned there. The enemies on this side were the Cholas and the Kākatiyas. The Kalyāna Mantapa in the Vishnu temple is even now called Kārala Mahādēvi and is reminiscent of the coronation of Ravivarman Kulas'ekhara...

[Arūlāla-Perumāl Inscription of Ravivarman. *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. IV. pp. 147-148.]

Hail! There was here, in the Kērala country, a king, an ornament of the Moon's family, named Jayasimha, a lord of the Yadu rulers. As Kumāra was born to S'iva from the goddess Uma, so was born to that prosperous one from Umādēvi, at the time when the S'aka year was (denoted by the chronogram) dēhavyāpya (*i. e.* 1188), the king Ravivarman, like the sentiment of heroism embodied.

This prince, having crushed the host of his adversaries as he did the power of the Kali age, and having taken for his consort, like the fortune of victory, a daughter of the Pāndya, when thirty-three years of age took possession of Kērala as he had done of fame, and ruled his territory like the town of Kōlamba.

This king SAMGRĀMADHĪRA, having vanquished in battle the enemy VĪRA-PĀNDYA, and having, like polity embodied, made the PĀNDYAS and CHOLAS, subject to the KĒRALAS, when forty-six years of age, assumed the crown

on the banks of the VĒGAVATĪ, and, seated on the throne, sported for a long time with the earth, fame, eloquence and fortune.

Having celebrated his coronation festival when he had vanquished the KĒRALAS, PĀNDYAS and CHOLAS, having driven that enemy VĪRA-PĀNDYA, who after his defeat in battle had gone to the KONKANA, from there even, together with his large army, into the forests, and having conquered the northern region, king SAMGRĀMA-DHĪRA here at KĀNCHI wrote his fourth year.

As far as the Mēru, as far as the Malaya, as far as the eastern and the western mountains, this head-ornament of YADU'S race, KULAS'ĒKHARA, alone took possession of the earth.

Hail! Fortune! The auspicious light of the Moon's race, the Nārāyana among the YĀDAVAS, the result of the religious merit of the Kērala country, the Karna under another name, the KŪPAKA universal monarch, the establisher of his GARUDA-BANNER on the (seven) principal mountains, the regent of the excellent city KŌLAMBA, the devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the holy PADMANĀBHA, the preceptor of pre-eminence to kings who bow down before him, the imprisoner of kings adverse to him, the root of the tree of religion, the ornament of the virtuous, the favourite of the sixty-four arts, the king Bhōja of the South, SAMGRĀMA-DHĪRA (*i.e.* the one firm in battle), the son of the *Mahārajādhirāja Parames'vara* JAYASIMHADĒVA, RAVI-VARMAN the *Mahārāja*, the glorious KULAS'ĒKHARA-DĒVA, the emperor of the three worlds, who has assumed the title 'the unequalled among kings' (addresses the following order) to the S'rīvaishnavas of the sacred shrine in the temple of ARULĀLA-PERUMĀL, established at TIRU-VATTIYŪR, (a quarter) of KĀNCHĪPURAM :—

[We have given] to the lord ARULĀLA-PERUMĀL for the various requirements, including offerings and ornaments, at the daily worship (samdhi) of Kulas'ēkhara which we have founded (and called) after our name; for the requirements, including offerings and ornaments, on the festival day which we have founded (and called) after our name (and which is) to be celebrated in the month of Āvani, and on the day of the monthly festival [for the requirements on the day of the hoisting of] the sacred banner.

CHAPTER XXV.

Account of the City of Bijanagar and its seven surrounding fortifications.

About the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century A. D., India south of the Vindhyas was divided nominally among six major states and minor ones which need not be specified. These were the Yadavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra, the Chola, Pandya and the Kerala country of Travancore. Of these the first two were overrun by the Muhammadans, the next two suffered badly and the last but one slightly. Travancore was beyond their reach then. In this condition, while there was the immediate chance of the Muhammadans renewing their efforts to conquer the whole of the South a new State came into existence through the co-operation of the second and third mentioned above. This was the State of Vijayanagar, the main object of which was to keep back the advance of the Muhammadans. The dynasty of the founders lasted for about seven generations (a century and a half), growing steadily in power and prosperity when the dynasty was overthrown by a general by name Sāluva Narasimha who saved it from dismemberment. The greatest ruler of this dynasty was Dēva Rāya II. The growth and condition of the city was an indication of the prosperity of the empire. The following extract is from Abdur Razak who came from Samarkand as ambassador to Calicut from Shah Rokh, one of the sons of Timur, and relates to the year A. D. 1443.

[Sir Henry Elliott: *History of India as told by Her Own Historians.* IV. pp. 104-109.]

From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well informed readers will have ascertained that the writer 'Abdur

Razak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmins are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna (Panchatantra), than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahmin, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the

new river to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Kakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the *Imam* Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhamed Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar.

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut-stones, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sutan*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated. These people have two kinds of writing, one upon a leaf of the Hindi-nut, (cocoanut), which is two yards long, and two digits broad, on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters present no colour, and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen so that the characters are white on a black surface, and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.

In the middle of the pillared-hall, a eunuch, called a *Danaik* sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the *Danaik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *Danaik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him, and trumpets are sounded, and on both sides of his way panegyrists pronounce benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the *Danaik* arrives at each door an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the *Danaik* enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the State to the king, and after remaining some time, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king.

On the left of the palace there is the mint, where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins, mixed with alloy. One is called *varaha*, and weighs about one *miskal*, equal to two *kopaki dinars*. The second kind is called *partab*, and is equal to half of the first. The third is called *fanam*, and is equal to the tenth of a *partab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a *sixth* of the *fanam* which they call *tar*, which is also in great use. The third of a *tar* is a copper coin, called *jital*. The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, every one throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue [*zar*] which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the Exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The *sipahis* receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury, there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Krishnarāya.

When the first dynasty shewed signs of decline in power, a general of the Empire, Sāluva Narasimha, usurped the throne. When he died he left the charge of his sons and the empire to his general Narasa. Narasa's son Vīra Narasimha set aside the ruler and ruled in his own name. His successor was his younger brother Krishna, by far the greatest ruler of the dynasty. He extended the empire to the frontiers of Orissa in the north and to Tinnevelly in the south. His genius in council and administration was the Brahman general and minister Timma who had the honorific title 'Sāluva.' The record seems to be dated about the middle of Krishna's reign, A. D. 1520.

[Two Inscriptions of Krishnarāya.
Epigraphia Indica. Vol. VI. pp. 127-132.]

Let there be prosperity !

May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it were (a woman that had fallen in love with him and) in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body !

Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious ! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force lest it should slip down, and (thereby) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth).

The lord of Kākuḷa who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (blue) hands with the tender (white) arms of

Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears as it were, a garland of *mandara* flowers entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily,—may he exhibit the skill of fortune!

The holy Rāma (who is identical with) Hari, who may be known from the Vēdānta; who, though his nature is knowledge, without end, and existence, yet in order to perform the duties of Maghavat, wears an illusory body; at whose sight even his enemies, such as Rāvaṇa and the rest, went to heaven at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhīshana, felt perfect satisfaction on earth,—let him grant welfare to the worlds!

I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Rāma, the tree of desire to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other (gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened) by the early rays of the sun; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vritra as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

There is (a king) called the glorious KRISHṆARĀYA, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king Krishṇa the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines; veracious people (therefore) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as *ambhōdhiḥ, jaladhiḥ, payōdhiḥ, udadhiḥ. varamnidhiḥ, vāridhiḥ.*

In the court of KALINGA is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king Krishna, (resembling) a snake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust in the hearts

of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishṇu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

The great chancellor, the glorious Sālva-Timma, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king Krishṇarāya.

The glorious minister Sālva-Timma, the best of the family of Kauṇḍinya, is the son of the minister Rācha, the son of the minister VĒMA.

We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from Sālva-Timma) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with Padmā or Vāṇī, the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces; their unequalled attendants or their carriages, for horses, elephants, etc.; (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) Sālva-Timma differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that Padmā gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law Vāṇi, O Sālva-Timma! (who on that account art both) Chauhattamalla (and) Chaturānana?

When Sālva (or the hawk), surnamed Timma, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government), after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by GAJAPATI in KONDAVĪTI, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the S'AKA years in the mountains (7), the towns (3), the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger and thirst, are looking for herbs and (rain-giving) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.

On Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshadha, to be counted in the S'AKA year marked by Sāluva (Sāluvanka), the town of Kondavīti, the excellent hill-fort, was taken by the minister Sālva-Timma.

(The procreation of) a son, (the planting of) a grove, (the construction of) a tank, (the consecration of) a temple, the marriage (of a girl) to a Brahman, (the hoarding of) a treasure, and (the composition of) a poem are the seven samtānaka acts which cause happiness in this world and the next one; the glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the prime minister of the glorious king Krishna, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.

There is, born in the lineage of Kaus'ika, the best of the family of NĀDINDLA, an excellent minister, TIMMA, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.

Krishnamba, renowned as Arundhatī, because she does not oppose (arundhati) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (anasuya).

The minister Nādindla-Timma was married to Krishnāmamba; his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

The sister's sons of the glorious minister Sālva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nādindla-Appa and (Nādindla-) Gōpa.

Appa, who manifests himself in the waters and (who bears the epithet) Prachētas, and Nādindla-Appa who is easily accessible and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

It was the lord Nādindla-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Krishna and the minister Timma (the right to use) a palanquin, two chauris and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Gutti and the city on the golden mountain (MERU) [Amarāvati], of commander-in-chief of

a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(The man) whose fame—a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Sachī which resemble the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambha—derides the moon in the month Kārttika, by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,—that man is this excellent lord Nādindla Appa whose brilliant fame (therefore) is to be praised by all men.

(The man) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (appear) like the Pātāla world by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nādindla-Appa whose arm (therefore) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

How can we praise Gōpa and Nādindla-Gōpa as being alike to each other? (for) the former has (only) one samtāna, while the latter has seven of them.

Some, (although they were) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (or cold) such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (but) the honourable Gōpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of numerous kings hostile to him, becoming totally insensible and flattering, (but) having instantly lost their poison through (the presence of)

Vainatēya, the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky;— brilliant is he, this Nādindla-Gōpa who is praised by the sun.

The glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Krishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Koṇḍavīṭi, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses, and infantry, and (the right to use) a palanquin and two chauris.

The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious Sālva-Timma, the chancellor (pradhāna) of the glorious Krishnarāya, the first among kings — the minister Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of Kondavīṭi.

In the S'aka year counted by Raghavaya the excellent minister Gōpa showed his veneration for (the god) Rāghava in Achalāpuri by (erecting) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.

Records the setting-up of an image of Raghunāyaka.

Rāma, the husband of Sīta, with a circle consisting of Sugrīva, Lakshmaṇa, Vibhīshana, Jāmbavat, Bharata together with S'atrugna and Angada, were duly set up by the minister Gōpa.

Possessed of Sīta and Rāma, Bharata, S'atrugna and Lakshmaṇa, this excellent city of Koṇḍavīṭi is flourishing (like) Ayōdhya; (but) here are (also) Sugrīva, Hanumat, Vibhīshana, Jāmbavat and Angada, (for) the lord Nādindla-Gōpa set up Rāma with his circle.

O Rāmachandra, glorious lord of the city Koṇḍavīṭi, dost thou, having become a moon (chandra), assume the ensign of the hawk (sāḷuva), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (dost thou assume) this ensign of him who has the Garuḍa as his emblem?

In the year Yuvan, marked as S'ālīvāhana-S'aka, the minister APPA, who is equal to S'ālīvāhana, obtained the regentship of the city of Koṇḍavīṭi from the minister Sālva-Timma.

Verses 36-40 record various grants.

I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (a lotus is covered) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (a lotus is adorned) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by its heads of the hosts of his enemies as (a lotus is surrounded) by flights of female bees.

Let that Vīrēs'vara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajāpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram!

Having made at ĀTUKŪRA a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (seen there) striding in circles and sporting in pairs (pressing each other) with their throats, (at the same time) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nādindla-Appa presented it completely to the Brahmans.

This tank at APPĀPURA, resembling the ocean, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds, became a forest, a field of rampant paddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (even at that time) it was full of water.

As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍavīṭi, as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sāḷuva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

CHAPTER XXVII.

Venkata II.

With the death of Krishna Rāya (1529-30) the empire began to decay. Achyuta, his younger brother, ruled for a little more than twelve years and brought about a change of succession. Though the nominal ruler continued to be a descendant of Krishna's father, the actual power passed into the hands of three brothers of the Aravīti family, Rama, Tirumal and Venkata. The first fell in the battle of Talikota (1565) and the succession continued in the family of Tirumala which, after three generations, reverted to the family of Rama. The donor of this grant was a grandson of Rama. Venkata's nephew S'rīranga succeeded and is the last known emperor of Vijayanagar. The grant is dated A. D. 1634 and the last known date of S'rīranga is A. D. 1644.

[Kūniyūr Plates of Venkata II.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III. pp. 251-258.]

Obeisance to the blessed Venkatēs'a !

I go for refuge to that pair of objects which is to be worshipped by the gods, (and) at whose meritorious touch a stone became the best of women.

I go for refuge to that Vishvaksēna whose more than hundred attendants, the elephant-headed (Ganēs'a) etc., remove the obstacles (in the way) of (his) devotees.

Victorious is the luminary (*viz.*, the Moon) which rose from the milk-sea, (which is) the left eye of Hari (Vishnu), (which is) the support of the Chakōra (birds), (and) which sustains the life of the gods.

The grandson of him (*viz.*, the Moon) was Budha's son Purūravas ; (his son was) Āyus ; his son was Nahusha ; from his was born Yayāti ; (and) ; from him Puru. In his race was born king Bharata ; in his lineage Samtanu ; the fourth from him was Vijaya ; from him was born Abhimanyu (and) from him Parīkshit.

The eighth in (descent) from him was Nanda ; the ninth from this king was king Chalikka ; the seventh from him was Narēndra (whose name was) preceded by Raja (*i. e.*, Rājanarēndra), (and) who was devoted to S'rīpati (Vishnu) ; the tenth from him in this (world) was king Bijjalēndra ; (and) the third from him was Vīra-Hemmāliraya, the lord of Māyāpuri, who prostrated himself before Murāri (Vishnu).

The fourth from him was king Tāta-Pinnama, at whose sight the crowd of enemies trembled ; from him was born that king Sōmidēva who took from the enemy seven forts in a single day ; his heroic son was king Raghavadēva ; (and) from him was born the glorious king Pinnama.

The son of this lord of the city of Āravīti was king Bukka, whose power was (continually) rising, (and) who firmly established even the kingdom of Sāluva-Nrisimha.

Just as Vishnu (married) Lakshmī, Bukka, the ornament of kings (and) the kalpa tree to scholars, married the prosperous Ballāmbikā, who surpassed the celestial nymphs by her personal beauty (and) whose virtue was highly respected.

As Lakshmī (bore) Kāma from Mādhava, as Pārvati (bore) Kumāra from S'ankara, and as S'achī (bore) Jayanta from Indra, so did Ballama bear a son, Rāmrāja, who was renowned in the world, from the lord Bukka.

As Lakshmī to Vishnu, so to this glorious king Rāmarāja, who fulfilled the desires of all supplicants, Lakambika was the queen.

In consequence of (his) great austerities, there was born to him a son, king S'rīrangarāja, the light of the race of the

Moon, at whose brilliant splendour — O wonder! — the eyes even of the wives of (his) enemies became bright.

Having wedded as (his) legal wife the virtuous Tirumalāmbikā, who resembled Arundhatī in good conduct, who at the same time surpassed the fame of the earth in patience, and) who captivated (all) hearts by (her) good qualities, — that foremost among heroes felt as happy as the Moon (by the possession of) Rōhiṇi.

This powerful king begat by that Tirumalādēvi the following (three) sons in succession, — the wise Rāmarāja, who was conversant with politics, the excellent Tirumalarāya; (and) king Venkaṭādri.

Having killed in battle all dangerous enemies in the world, this heroic Rāmarāja, who resembled by his great fame Bharata, Manu, Bhagīratha and other kings, ruled the circle of the earth.

Among the three sons of king S'rīranga, the wise (and) powerful king Tirumalamahārāya, as Hari among the trinity, having conquered hostile kings in battle (and) having been anointed to the matchless sovereignty, ruled the whole earth.

At the coronation of this Moon among kings (and) foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water (poured out) at donations, occupied (as it were) the place of queen.

Just as the Sāman and the other (three Vedas were produced) from the mouth of the Creator, as peace and the other (three) expedients from the brave Satya vāch (?), (and), as Rāma and (his three brothers) from Das'aratha, — thus from that excellent king were born (four) sons of great fame:—

From him were born a king called Raghunātha; S'rīrangarāya, (who was) a pārijāta (tree) to supplicants; the glorious Rāmarāja, the moon of the earth; (and) the famous Venkaṭadēvarāya.

Among these brothers, S'rīrangarāya, who had crossed the milk-ocean of policy (and) who was renowned in the eight regions, was crowned to the kingdom of Penugoṇḍa.

After (him) the wise (and) glorious Venkaṭapatidēvarāya ruled the earth illuminating the ten regions by (his) fame.

To his elder brother, the lord Rāmarāja, whose deeds put to shame the celestial trees, were born Tirumalarāja and the famous S'rīrangarāya.

Of these two, S'rīrangarāya begat sons who possessed great modesty, were full of compassion, (learned) and famous.

Among these sons of king S'rīrangarāya the glorious king Rāmarāya, who was beyond the reach of the eloquence of the best poets, shone for a very long time, as the kaustubha among the gems produced from the sea.

Formerly, from the famous king Rāmarāja who resembled the holy Rāmabhadra, were born, — as the (fire), celestial trees from the milk-ocean, — five sons who were eager to gratify the desires of all scholars, who followed the path of policy, who were able to protect the world, (and) who possessed rising prosperity.

[All these] excelled Sugrīva in (the effectiveness of their) commands, were stubborn (only) in pleasing wise men, [were to be respected by the learned on account of (their) virtues, (and) had beautiful forms].

Among these kings of famous deeds, S'rīrangaraja, a moon on earth, was celebrated in the three worlds, as the pārijāta tree among the celestial trees.

The horses which are abandoned in battle by hostile kings who have taken to flight in great terror on hearing the loud roar of his drums, are wallowing (on the ground) through fatigue. Is it through fear of their (the kings') being pursued that (these horses) are (thus) wiping away the footprints of (their) masters, which bear the (royal) marks of pitchers, parasols and flags, (and) which (now) adorn (only) the jungle?

Through the great mercy of the world of S'ēshagiri, who was pleased with the great austerities of S'rīrangarāja, there were born to (him) two wonderful sons who were as happy as Indra.

Fond of protecting (their) subjects, (and) expert in slaying the cruel (khara) and the wicked (dūshana), (these) two (princes), named Peda-Venkatēndri and the lord Pina-Venkata, gave delight (to the world), as Rāma and Lakshmana (who slew the demons Khara and Dūshana).

Of these two, the elder by years, prowess, liberality, profundity, firmness, scholarship and all other virtues (was) the glorious king Peda-Venkatēndra, in whose heart Hari (Vishnu) takes up (his) abode (because he is afraid) that (his proper abode) the ocean might become land by the clouds of the dust of (his) army during his expeditions (in which he practises) the art of destroying hostile kings.

United with (his) queen Bangāramāmbā, whose heavenly form is the abode of the kingdom of love, this king Venkata shines like S'akra (Indra) with Sachī, (and) like S'auri (Vishnu) with Ramā (Lakshmī).

When this son of king S'rīrangarāja,— Venkatadēvarāya, the best of heroes, — was anointed to the kingdom of Penugonda, then were also the learned anointed (*i. e.*, abundantly presented) with gold.

Having been anointed according to the rule by his family preceptor, the famous Tātayārya, the ornament of the learned, just as (Rāma) the descendant of the race of Raghu himself by (Vasishtha) the husband of Arundhatī, (and) having destroyed in an instant the Yavanas, (just as Rāma) the demons, he rules the earth victoriously.

He who resembles the ocean in great profundity; the only excellent conqueror of the fort (durga) of CHAURASI; he who terrifies vehemently the hearts of the hostile kings of the eight directions; the favourite of S'ārngadhara (Vishnu).

He who is sporting with the powerful goddess of heroes; the lord (or, the central gem) of the necklace (which is) the town of Āravīti; he whose arm is as strong as (S'ēsha) the lord of serpents; he who is obtaining the title Mandalika-dharanivarāha (*i. e.*, the boar on earth among provincial chiefs).

The foremost of the kings born from the Atrēya gōtra; he whose fame is great;

Bringing the throne of Karnata into his power by the strength of (his) arm, (and) joyfully ruling the whole earth after (he) has destroyed (all) enemies from (Rāma's) bridge up to the snowy mountain,— this glorious prince, Venkatapati, the foremost among kings, who surpasses all ancient kings in wisdom, (and) who is Sutrāman's (Indra's) tree to (*i. e.*, fulfils the desires of) the crowds of wise men, is resplendent.

In the S'aka year reckoned by the seasons (6), the arrows (5), the arrows (5), and the moon (1), (*i. e.*, 1556), in the (cyclic) year called Bhava, in the month named Vais'ākha.

In the bright fortnight, under an auspicious star, on the sacred full-moon tithi, in the blissful presence of the lotus-feet of the blessed Venkatēs'a.

(The king gave) to excellent Brāhmanas of various s'ākhas, names, gōtras and sūtras, who were celebrated for learning in the S'āstras (and) deeply versed in the Vedas,—

A village, famed by the name Kūniyūr, rich in all grain, consisting of sixty-two shares (gana), adorned by the surname MUDDUKRISHNĀPURAM, adorned with houses and gardens free of taxes (sarvamānya), up to the four boundaries all round, accompanied by treasures, deposits, stones, actuals, outstandings and water, with the akshīni and the āgāmin, to be enjoyed in shares (gana), with the trees, to be successively enjoyed by the (donees) sons, grandsons, etc., as long as the moon and stars (exist), —

Situated in the prosperous Trivaḍi-rājya, in Muḷḷi-nāḍu, in the prosperous Vīravanallūramāghaṇi, —

Situated to the south of the great river Tampraparṇi, and to the east of the great village Kārukurchi, —

To the south of the boundary of Bhrāntamangala, to the west of the prosperous village of Sēravanmahādēvi, —

(And) to the north of the high road (which is) to the north of a hill, — comprising (?) two fields (kshētra) on the fifteenth (?) canal at Kārukurchi.

(The son) of the glorious prince Nāga, — who was a descendant of the Kās′yapa (gōtra), the object of the spontaneous favour of (the god) Vis′vēs′vara who was pleased by (his) severe austerities, a treasury of virtues, (and) the best of those who grant the object of (their) desires to the crowd of scholars, — was Vis′vanātha, a Saṃkrandana (Indra) on earth, who was honoured on earth as the foremost of great heroes.

From him was born a chief of Nāyakas, Krishnappa, who was renowned in the world, who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with (his) name, who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, (and) whose (liberal) disposition resembled that of (Kubēra) the lord of wealth.

To him was born a moon on earth, the glorious prince Vīrapa, who was surrounded by the splendour of spreading fame, who delighted the circle of the earth (or the night lotus), who was the support of scholars (or of gods), (and) who destroyed the inward pleasures of (his) enemies (or of bees).

To him was born a chief of Nāyakas, Vis′vapa, a moon to the darkness (which were) hostile kings. To him was born the brave (and) glorious lord Muddukrishna, who, resembled the (Mountain) Mēru in firmness.

He had two sons, the lord Mudduvīra and prince Tirumala, who were the receptacles of the continuous stream of the deep

compassion of (the goddess) Mīnākshi and (the god) Sundarēsa, who were resplendent with their fame which spread from the Kailāsa mountain to (Rama's) bridge, and whose respected command (resembled) an ornament of splendid jewels in the diadems of kings.

Then, having been eagerly anointed to the sovereignty over the whole kingdom by many chiefs of ministers, (and) having obtained the whole surface of the earth through the great compassion of (the god) Sundarēs′a, prince Tirumala shines (like) an Indra on earth.

Sanctioning the request of this glorious prince Tirumala, — the strength of whose arm was hard to be resisted by the enemies, who was a Sutrāman (Indra) on earth in happiness, who was a kalpa tree on earth in liberality, whose enemies ascended high mountains as soon as he ascended (his) mighty elephant, who surpassed the enemy of the ocean (*i.e*, the submarine fire) in attacking a town for conquest, who spent the time in gifts of brides, food, gold and land, (and) whose beauty surpassed that of Jayanta, the Moon, and Cupid,— the glorious king Vīra-Venkaṭapatimahārāya joyfully made (the above) grant with libations of water (poured) over gold. (The names of) the Brāhmaṇas, deeply versed in the Vedas, who received shares of this (grant), are written here :—

Let them all be victorious as long as the moon and the stars (exist), those chiefs of the twice-born who obtained as a tax-free gift (sarvamānya) the above-mentioned excellent village, adorned by trees growing on the bank of the prosperous Karṇāṭaka canal, excluding the shares of learned Brāhmaṇas (Bhaṭṭa), including all the gifts to temples (dēvadāya) with the *Kapaṭā-jōle*, with the *tirutuvalaya*, with the *maṭappara*, with the *kīlekkalippala*, with five and a half māvus in Kārukurchi, with its boundary (stones) on all sides marked with (the) (image of) the blessed Vāmana (avatāra).

situated on the western bank of the canal which flows to the south, and to the east of a small garden which is on the east of Kārukurchi.

Half a field (kshētra) was purchased and given to the village deity (grāmadēvatā).

This (is) an edict of the best of kings the famous and glorious Venkatapatirāya, who is a moon to the lotuses (which are) learned men, (and) a Mahēndra on earth.

At the command of Vīra-Venkatarāya, the poet Rāma, the son of Kāmakōti (and) grandson of Sabhāpati, composed the text of (this) edict.

The excellent Achyutārya, the son of Ganapārya (and) grandson of the illustrious (and) excellent Vīranāchārya, correctly wrote the fine verses of the edict of Venkata, the diadem of kings.